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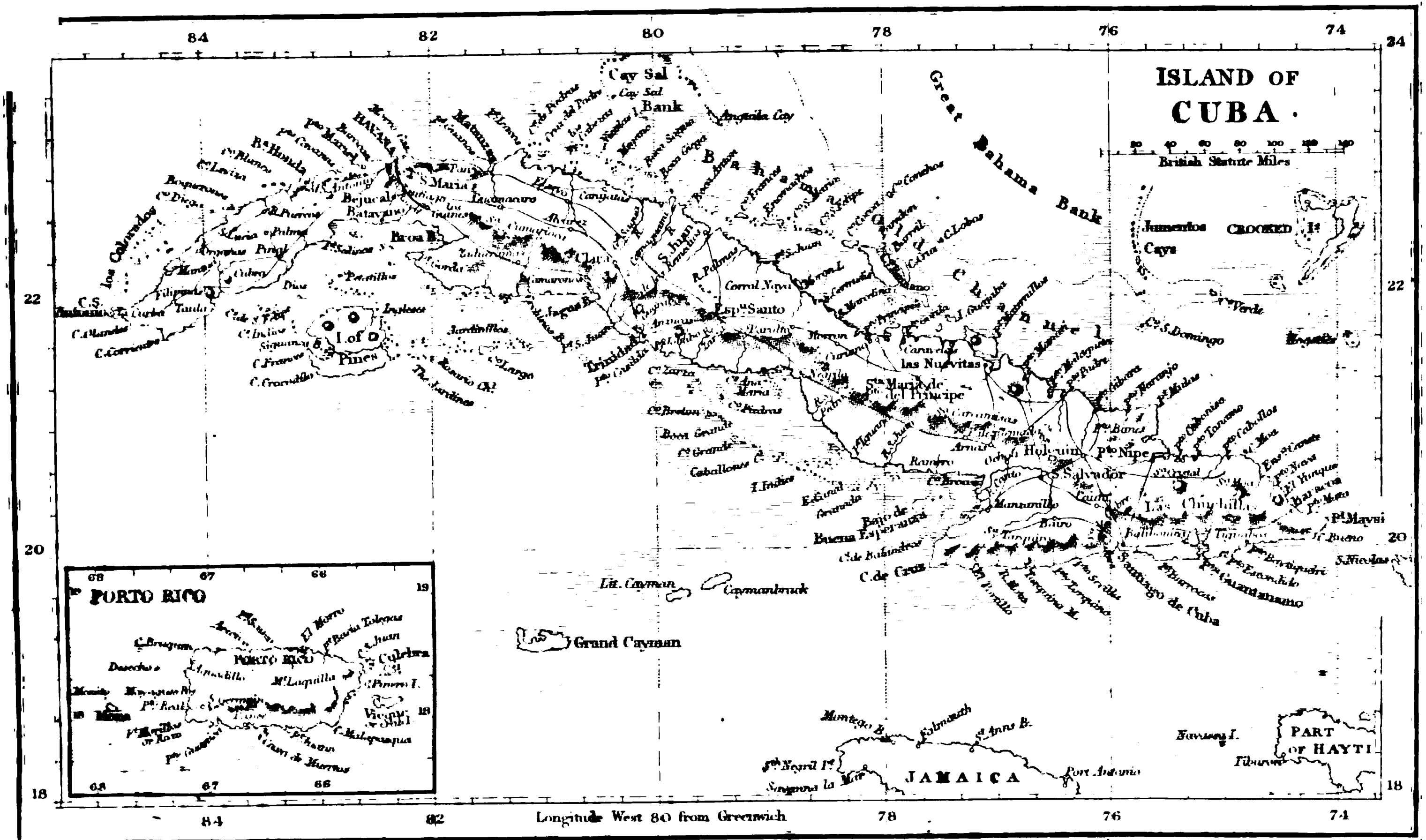

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TRAVELS IN THE WEST.

CUBA;

WITH

NOTICES OF PORTO RICO,

AND THE

SLAVE TRADE.

BY

DAVID TURNBULL, ESQ. M.A.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY AT MADRID,
AND OF THE ROYAL PATRIOTIC AND ECONOMICAL SOCIETY
AT THE HAVANA.

Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn.

BURNS.

LONDON:

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THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF CLARENDON, G. C. B.

&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

I have persuaded myself, and I am therefore desirous of persuading others, that I have discovered the means of accomplishing an object which your Lordship has very much at heart.

If the conclusion I have come to be sound and practicable, it will, doubtless, make its way in spite of its humble origin. It is not because I despair of its ultimate success with the country or the government, but simply in order to hasten the event, that I desire to shed around it the lustre of your Lordship's name.

But for the opportunities I enjoyed, during the first years of your Lordship's memorable mission to Madrid, of witnessing your unwearied efforts for the abatement of "the greatest practical evil

that ever afflicted mankind," I should have wanted the primary motive for the performance of the journey of which this volume is the fruit.

Deeply impressed with the necessity of finding or creating a remedy more prompt, practicable, and efficient than any thing heretofore suggested, my whole thoughts were turned in this direction; and in the following pages I have endeavoured to develope a plan, conceived in the midst of the scenes of wretchedness this traffic has produced.

It was the treaty of 1835, which deprived the miscreants of all nations, who freight their ships with human misery, of the protection of the proud Lion and Castle of Spain. They have found shelter, for a time, under the mercenary banner of Portugal; and when deprived of that, as they shortly shall be, it is to be feared that the Stars and Stripes of the North American Union may be waywardly and gratuitously interposed for their protection. Even without the shelter of any national flag, their profits are great enough to tempt their defiance of the naval power of England, backed and supported though it were by the cordial co-operation of the rest of the civilised world.

As physical force is proved to be powerless against a gain of cent per cent, I am for striking

at the root of the evil, and cutting off the profit at its source.

Should your Lordship do me the honour of following the train of reasoning, which has brought me to this conclusion, it will probably recall one of those familiar expressions so often replete with force and meaning, peculiar to a language your Lordship has studied profoundly :—Los que cabras no tienen y cabritos venden, de donde les vienen? The Bozal negroes are the kids of the proverb; and I only ask for the court of mixed commission the power to inquire from whence they came. The British judges are on the spot. The wedge is already entered. It needs but a well-aimed blow to drive it home.

In your Lordship's hands the task would be easy. The whole Spanish people are so thoroughly convinced of the services you have rendered them, in bringing about the pacification of their country, and in defending their cause in your place in parliament, that no minister would dare to deal with you as with an ordinary ambassador. With a mere diplomatist, months, nay years, might be consumed in negotiating the addition I have ventured to propose to the Clarendon treaty. Its illustrious author will bring it to a close in a single sitting; and the glorious triumph which is to rescue millions

of our fellow-mortals from the grasp of the oppressor may be announced to the world with more than Cæsarean brevity.

Go, my Lord, and

" Read your history in a nation's eyes."

Return and receive the thanks and congratulations of mankind.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged

and faithful Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

Paris, February, 1840.

PREFACE.

THE present volume represents the fragment of a tour of considerable extent on the western side of the Atlantic, begun in 1837 and concluded towards the close of 1839.

On my arrival in the West Indies the apprenticeship system in the British Colonies was in full operation, and the shortening of the term in favour of the field labourers, so as to put them in possession of their freedom on the 1st of August, 1838, had not yet been seriously agitated. It was in British Guiana, the most windward of our possessions, that I first landed, and having afterwards visited every island in the neighbouring Archipelago, I had the satisfaction to find in the course of my progress to leeward that the members of the various local legislatures were preparing with more or less reluctance to submit to the abandonment of this remnant of slavery.

I had the good fortune to reach Jamaica in time to witness the rejoicings occasioned among the negro population by the disappearance of the last link of their chain. The moderation with which they entered on their new state of existence is already matter of history. On this point the ominous forebodings of the planters have been

agreeably disappointed; and from the large amount of voluntary labour already obtained, it is not unfair to presume that they may be equally at fault in the rest of their sinister prognostications.

Disregarding my actual itinerary, I have resolved on giving precedence to the publication of the present volume, under a strong conviction that the suggestions it will be found to contain on the subject of the slave trade, if once sanctioned by public opinion, and adopted by the government, would lead to an easy, cheap, and almost immediate solution of the much-vexed question of its suppression.

It is by the force of public opinion, and by the great pecuniary sacrifice to which the people of England have willingly submitted, that the practice of negro slavery has been happily abolished throughout her Majesty's dominions. The national will was so strongly expressed as to have become irresistible. But the practice of domestic slavery, however deplorable, is not to be compared in magnitude or importance with the horrors of the slave trade. Public opinion is surely not to be powerless, the national will is not to be mute, because its objects can be accomplished without further sacrifice, pecuniary or personal.

On this subject, also, the wishes and desires of the entire British people have long been loudly expressed. As a nation, it is true, they have scarcely to reproach themselves with any direct or actual share in the abominable traffic; and this consideration

may possibly have some tendency to damp their zeal in the cause.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that there are men of large capital, at this hour resident in London, who in the full enjoyment of the rights and franchises of Englishmen, do not scruple to enrich themselves, under cover of a foreign partnership, by supplying the actual slave-dealer with the means of carrying on his ruthless war of extermination against the African race; nor that many of our manufacturers and merchants are accused, not altogether without cause, of reaping a disgraceful profit from the fabrication and sale of articles of exchange, exclusively employed in this trade in human flesh.

These, it must be admitted, are grievous blots on the national escutcheon. As long as a single vestige of them remains, to justify either the taunts of our enemies, or the honest regrets of our friends, we can never afford to sit down with tranquillity or composure under the disgraceful imputation. Every man of us is bound to exert himself in the cause, as if his personal reputation were at stake. From all this pollution there is but one way of escape. It is by the suppression of the trade, finally, absolutely, irretrievably.

Is that suppression so hopeless, so impossible, that we ought to give up the attempt in despair? The means, on the contrary, are so easy, the remedy is so near the surface, that it will presently be a subject of wonder why it was not seen, pro-

posed, and acted on years and years ago. There is but little merit I confess in arriving at so obvious a conclusion. It needed no profound cogitation, no extraordinary research.

It lay in my path, and I found it.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE next volume will embrace the other foreign Colonies beginning with Martinique.

The unavoidable absence of the author from London, while this volume has been passing through the press, is offered as an apology for the appearance of such typographical errors as may have escaped the vigilance of the professional reader of the proofs.

Such communications on the present state of the British West Indies, or of British America, as may be addressed to the Author, to the care of the publishers, will be gladly received and gratefully acknowledged.

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I learn with regret that I have been led into error in the last paragraph of the 1st chapter of this volume, pp. 22 and 23., respecting the events at Santiago.

I have ascertained from undoubted authority that General Lorenzo was received on board the British cruiser alluded to, under a convention to which he was himself a party, the terms of which were faithfully fulfilled in every particular, as is farther proved by General Lorenzo's own subsequent admission, published at Cadiz in 1837; and that the published statements which I found at the Havana of the destruction of 500 persons, intended doubtless to damage General Tacon, were wholly unwarranted by fact; as it now appears there was no loss of life whatever consequent on the events in question. It affords me satisfaction, also, that I am able to remove the misstatements thus unintentionally made affecting the character of the British navy.

March 9. 1840.

TRAVELS IN THE WEST.

CUBA,

ETC.

CHAPTER I.

TAKING LEAVE OF JAMAICA. — SANTIAGO HOSPITALITY. — THE VOLANTE. — COBRE. — COPPER MINES. — PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE. — THE DEE. — GOVERNOR LORENZO. — CAPTAIN-GENERAL TACON.

At the time of my visit to Cuba, towards the close of the year 1838, the means of communication between the various districts of the island, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the Havana, were exceedingly imperfect.

My friend Mr. Cater, the chief of the Colonial Bank in Jamaica, was good enough to write from thence to his correspondents at Santiago de Cuba and the Havana, to ascertain what means there were of conveyance between these two points; and in answer he received the most distinct information, that, on a given day in the month of November, the steamer the Royal Peacock, *El Pavo Real*, would leave her moorings at Santiago at two

o'clock in the afternoon, and, touching at various intermediate points, would proceed to Batabano, the nearest place to the capital on the south side of the island. Relying on the printed advertisements which were forwarded to Mr. Cater, I mentioned the matter to Sir Lionel Smith, with whom I was staying at the time, when his Excellency, with his accustomed good-nature, was pleased to suggest that, as Her Majesty's government contemplated a regular communication by steam between Jamaica and the neighbouring islands of Cuba and St. Domingo, it might be desirable to ascertain the time that would be required for a steamer to make the passage between Port Royal and Santiago. Combining this public object with the convenience of his guest, Sir Lionel lost no time in writing to Commodore Douglass, in command of the naval force at Port Royal, desiring that the Dee, Captain Sherer, might be held in readiness to sail on such a day as would best meet the purpose I had in view, which was to inspect the copper mines in the neighbourhood of Santiago, and afterwards avail myself of the sailing of the Peacock, which presented so favourable an opportunity for seeing something of the southern shores of the island.

Delighted with this arrangement, which was most satisfactorily completed by the arrival of the Commodore and Captain Sherer, at the King's House in Spanish Town, I had the good fortune, with the ready concurrence of Captain Sherer, to prevail on the Chief Justice and Lady

Rowe to accompany Mrs. Turnbull and myself on the excursion; to which they consented the more readily, from the well-known hospitality of Captain Sherer, and the rareness of the opportunity of securing their return from such a trip on a given day.

We had scarcely left the harbour, however, when, to our great mortification, we discovered that the coals, which had lain in the government stores at Port Royal for several years, had suffered so much from the climate, that it was found impossible to keep up the steam; so that the time we had calculated on for making the passage was more than doubled, and we did not pass the magnificent entrance to the harbour of Santiago, until the morning of the day that the Peacock was advertised to sail. As the hour advertised was two in the afternoon, and we saluted the Moro Castle at six in the morning, I had reluctantly made up my mind to relinquish my visit to the Cobre, and to content myself with paying my respects to the British Consul, Mr. Hardy, and to the lieutenant-governor of the province.

I had just come to this resolution when a steamer hove in sight in the narrowest part of the narrow entrance, which proved to be the Pavo Real herself, on which I had so much depended. Instead of leaving her moorings at two in the afternoon, she must have started between five and six in the morning. The current in this narrow passage is so strong, and the navigation, even for steamers, so difficult, that it was impossible in passing to do more than intimate that we had passengers for the

Peacock on board, and to receive in return the short and unwelcome answer, — *No es possible, Señores.*

To all appearance, therefore, there was nothing for it but to return in the Dee to Jamaica; in the meantime enjoy the agreeable society we had brought with us, and throw ourselves at Kingston on the chapter of accidents; with the comfortable assurance that we had not quite exhausted the good will to serve us, which, during a three months' stay in Jamaica, had been so frequently manifested by the gallant and venerable occupant of Government House.

I have entered into these details for the sake of warning the reader, wherever Spaniards are concerned, to be on his guard against their habitual want of punctuality. On three different occasions I came into town from my residence in the neighbourhood, of the Havana, with the view of proceeding by one of the steamers duly advertised for Matanzas; and in each of the three instances was disappointed. The first time there had been some derangement of the machinery; the second it was blowing *a norte;* and the third the reason was not disclosed; but I afterwards learned that it was perfectly satisfactory to the proprietors, who found it more profitable to send the vessel out in the direction of Mariel, there to meet a slaver announced from the coast of Africa, and relieve her of her human cargo with less risk of detention by some British cruiser, than to fulfil their contract with the public. In taking my departure from the island, I had occasion to complain of a still more serious violation

of a rule, the observance of which is so essential to men of business. The "Daniel Webster," an American vessel in which I had engaged my passage for Charleston, was detained for eight and forty hours after she had cleared at the Custom House and was ready for sea, because another passenger had chosen to embark without a regular passport.

In the present instance, fortunately for us, a counterbalancing accident had occurred to relieve us from our embarrassment. We had scarcely reached our anchorage when we ascertained that a passenger ship called the Grande Antilla, from Cadiz and Barcelona, Don Antonio Vicent y Vives, commander, had arrived off the harbour, bound for the Havana and Vera Cruz, but from adverse winds had been unable to enter. As the same wind continued to prevail for nearly a week, we had ample opportunity of seeing all that we desired to see in this district of the island, without any other cause of regret than the great inconvenience to which some seventy cabin passengers in the Grande Antilla were exposed, nearly the half of them being ladies, hanging off and on after a long voyage, in the open sea, without knowing whether they would be able to effect a landing.

Having sent our letters of introduction on shore, we learned that the consul, Mr. Hardy, was absent at the Copper Mines, of which he is one of the principal proprietors; but the attentions which our knowledge of his character had led us to expect from him were promptly and cordially supplied by the resident partners of the leading English house

of Wright, Shelton, and Co.; one of whom, Mr. Brooks, was speedily on board, bringing carriages to the wharf to carry us to the town residence of Mr. Wright, his senior partner. There, although on so short a notice, we found all sorts of English comforts and accommodations for the whole of our party, the captain and some of his officers included. Nay, our excellent host would not afterwards hear of our separating so as to give to some of the other residents; to whom we were recommended, a share of the trouble of receiving us, until, as he said himself, he was enabled to hand us over to his friend and neighbour, the consul, who, he was sure, would make his appearance as soon as he heard of our arrival. In this conjecture he was perfectly correct. On the following morning the consul arrived, and insisted on carrying us without delay to visit his family at their mountain abode, within a mile or two of the Copper Mines.

The saddle, or the peculiar carriage of the island, the *volante*, forms the only means of conveyance in a country where the roads are so eminently execrable. No written description we had previously read of the *volante* had been able to give us a satisfactory idea of it. Before seeing them our fellow traveller, Sir Joshua Rowe, had formed the design of purchasing one for his own use in Jamaica; but he was probably deterred by the grotesque appearance of the vehicle, or by the probable difficulty of finding an experienced *calesero*, who, to all appearance, must be a person "to the manner born;" so that he finally abandoned the idea.

The wheels of the *volante* are placed so wide apart, that it is next to impossible to overturn it, even in ruts where an ordinary carriage would disappear. The wheels themselves are always at least six feet, and some that I have measured have proved even seven feet in diameter. The shafts are proportionably long; indeed so long, that a second horse might be placed between the croupe of the first and the body of the carriage. The body is suspended on C springs, also very wide apart; and is hung so low between the shafts that the heads of the travellers are always a foot or two below the level of the upper section of the wheels.

In the city of the Havana there is a police regulation, directing that no more than one horse shall be attached to these carriages, whether public or private, within the walls; but in the country, of course, such a regulation would be impracticable. One out-rigger is always added to the left, on which the *calesero* is mounted, instead of riding the shaft horse, as is the invariable custom in the Havana. Where the roads are worse than usual, or where more state is thought necessary, a second out-rigger is attached on the right hand side. The *quitrin* is a mere variety of the *volante*, the one having a fixed and the other a moveable top. The *calesero*, particularly in towns, is usually dressed in a very smart livery, resembling, in some degree, the gayest of the French postilions; but, instead of his enormous boots, wearing long black gaiters, with silver buckles to his shoes; the buckles of the harness being often of the same precious metal.

This system of three horses abreast is that usually adopted by the native gentry of the island of St. Domingo. In that island, even in their heaviest field waggons, a leader is never to be seen; although it is not uncommon in the plains of the Cul de Sac, or Leogane, to find two horses or mules attached to the pole of a two-wheeled waggon, with a bar like that of a curricle across, and an outrigger on either side, making in all four animals abreast.

Before ascending the mountain on which Mr. Hardy's cottage is situated, we stopped at the village of Cobre; and changing our outward habiliments for those provided by the captain of the mine, we placed ourselves in the tiny railway carriages, which pass into the interior, and prepared to enter the principal tunnel, which has been driven directly into the face of the mountain. Fortunately for the proprietors, the present workings are so situated, with reference to the external surface of the ground, that it has not been necessary to resort to the aid of shafts and pumping machinery for the purpose of raising the mineral or carrying off the water.

After all that we had heard of the value and importance of these works, their actual extent did not fail to surprise us. We learned from Mr. Hardy, that the labourers employed were nearly nine hundred in number; but to our great regret we found that more than the half of them were slaves, some the property of the Mining Company, and others hired out, as is not uncustomary, from their owners

in the neighbourhood. A considerable proportion of the residue consisted of Islenos or free emigrants from the Canaries; and a year before our arrival, there had been two hundred Englishmen from Cornwall; but a single sickly season had carried off the half of them, including two of the captains, the brothers of the person who had kindly lent us the necessary attire for entering the "bowels of the land."

In following the veins of copper we found that the principal tunnel soon branched off into various directions. On descending from our railway carriage, at one of the cross roads, I had the misfortune to put my foot into a rift, or crevice of the rock; from which, however, I escaped without a fracture, but with such a degree of lameness as considerably to damp my courage in further exploring the secrets of this crust of earth, of which, after all our labour, so very little has yet been disclosed.

We were not suffered to leave the mines without an ample supply of specimens of the ore, some of them so rich as to afford not less than 53 per cent. of pure metal. We were informed, however, that the ordinary average produce is not more than 27 per cent.; but even that proportion is so great as to ensure enormous profits to the proprietors, in competing with the produce of our native mines of Cornwall, where 10, and even 8, per cent. are considered sufficient to afford a remunerating return. The competition with Cornwall, probably,

could not be maintained, if the produce of the Cuba mines did not reach 18, or at least 16, per cent., in consequence of the expense attending the working of mines in a tropical climate, together with the heavy charges of freight, commission, and insurance. Still, if the general average be as high as 27 per cent., the profits of the company must be so great as to insure a rapid fortune to the partners, who consisted originally of only four individuals.

The recent history of this mine is somewhat remarkable. It was known that in the palmy days of Spanish greatness, the neighbouring mountains had been explored to a very considerable extent; and, indeed, the fact is sufficiently indicated by the very name of the town of Cobre, which is certainly not a place of modern origin. For more than a hundred years, however, the workings had been abandoned; and it was by mere accident some eight or ten years ago, that Mr. Hardy, the present consul, was induced, on visiting the neighbourhood for quite another purpose, to carry off some specimens of the refuse, thrown up from the old workings, in order to subject them to analysis. He had, in fact, been employed by his father, a man of large property, and now one of his partners in the mine, to visit the island in order to ascertain the probability of recovering a mortgage debt, which he held over a neighbouring property. Whether the debt was secured I did not inquire; but supposing it to have proved a total loss, the creditor has doubtless been amply compensated by

the brilliant results of the experiments on which the tact and penetration of his son had induced him to enter.

In this ill-governed country, the happiest combination of capital, enterprise, and skill, is not sufficient to insure success in any similar undertaking. It was necessary, of course, either to effect a purchase of the soil, with its accessorial rights, or to admit its proprietor into the secret, and allow him a reasonable proportion of the profits, arising from a discovery, which, even had he known it, he probably had not the means of fructifying. Another desideratum, not less indispensable, remained to be accomplished; and that was to obtain the consent of the government to exercise the privilege of mining, which, in the dominions of Her Catholic Majesty, is not carried, it seems, by the mere right of property in the soil. For this purpose, a vast deal of influence is required at head quarters; so great as to have made it necessary, or at least advisable, for the three individuals who alone were directly, or substantially, interested in the success of the undertaking — the discoverer, the capitalist, and the proprietor of the soil, — to admit a fourth person to an equal participation of the profits, from the mere fact of his possessing the necessary degree of influence at the Havana, or Madrid, to overcome the obstacles which would infallibly arise as soon as the enterprise presented any reasonable prospect of success.

The best efforts of this fourth partner, Señor

Arrieta, could only suffice to procure a ten years' licence, four of which had yet to run at the time of our visit; so that as its term approaches the necessity of a fresh struggle, which will be arduous in exact proportion to the previous success of the undertaking, may reasonably be anticipated by the parties concerned. Already the expected difficulties were beginning to show themselves; attempts having been made on the part of the authorities at the Havana, in direct contravention of their license, to compel the company to resort to the ruinous expedient of smelting their ores on the spot, instead of sending them for that purpose, as heretofore, to Swansea. The ostensible object of this proposal is to benefit the country, by compelling the company to expend more money than they now do on the Spanish territory, and, in all probability, to induce them to resort for their supplies of fuel to the coal mines recently discovered in the neighbourhood of the Havana, which are, at least, seven hundred miles distant. The real purpose undoubtedly is, to extract from the company as large a share of their profits as they may be willing to forego, for the benefit of those who may hereafter have the power of renewing or withholding their license.

Two powerful steam engines are at present employed on the works, the chief duties of which are to stamp the mineral into a sort of coarse powder, when the richer part of the ore is separated from the refuse, as well as that can be done by hand, with the aid of various mechanical con-

trivances. When in a state sufficiently pure for exportation, the ore is put into bags or baskets, and carried by beasts of burden a distance of twelve miles, to Santiago, at an average cost of about a dollar a hundred weight. The mule, the horse, and the camel, are the animals usually employed in this laborious operation; and it would be well for those of the nobler race, whether hybrid or pure, if they possessed the prudence or the instinct of the camel, which teaches it to lie down when overloaded, and refuse to proceed until its burden is so reduced as to make it compatible with its strength. The poor horse, however, and even the mule, stagger on to the last, under the excessive burdens which are heaped upon them, the average not being less than 224 English pounds.

This excessive labour, and the enormous expense attending it, might, in a great measure, be avoided by the construction of a wharf and warehouses at the head of the noble bay of Santiago, which is within six miles of the mouth of the mine, together with a railway, or even a good macadamized road, from the one point to the other. But the first cost of such a supplementary undertaking is for the present interdicted by two prudential considerations; the one arising from the danger which is common, I believe, to all copper mines, of coming suddenly to the end of the rich vein of metal on which the company have so fortunately fallen, and the other from the increased difficulties of which so bold a step would be prolific in the necessary pursuit of the renewal of their license.

One of the members of the company, with or without the consent of his partners, has been induced, by the obvious success of the undertaking, and the desire of realising his proportion of the capital, to divide his interest into shares, and to bring it out in the London market, where, I understand, it is now regularly quoted. The shares are valued at 40*l.* each; and as one entire share is but a twelve thousandth part of the whole, the estimate put on the mines is, of course, no less than 480,000*l.* sterling. To justify this large valuation, I was told on the spot that 30,000*l.*, being the balance of the debt incurred by the company, had been paid off in the single year which had just terminated; and that, judging from the produce of the mine during the same period, and from the prices obtained in England, the monthly clear profits were not then less than 12,000*l.*, making a princely revenue to such of the partners as had not parted with any portion of their interest.

From personal observation, it was manifest that the returns must be very considerable. In going to Cobre, as on our return from it, we met, or overtook, some four or five hundred horses and mules on their daily journey to or from Santiago; and this, at the average of two hundred weight a piece, would very soon bring up the quantity to the amount of 2000 tons, which was stated to exist at that moment in the warehouses at Santiago, and to be waiting there for the means of shipment to England. I am bound, however, to add, on the authority of a fellow traveller, the

son of an eminent Cornish miner, that the flattering appearances we had witnessed, and the statements we had heard, are to be received with some grains of allowance, as in such cases the balance sheet does not always correspond with the external display.

In the neighbourhood of the town of Cobre, encouraged by the success of the English company, two other mines have been opened, on adjoining properties, into which the same system of metallic vein is understood to extend. In other districts of the island, within these few years, more than one undertaking of a similar nature has been begun on scales of considerable magnitude. I refer more particularly to a mining association, called *Compañia de Mineria Cubana*, formed by two American gentlemen, Mr. Thomas B. Smith, and Mr. Hezekiah Bradford, in pursuance of the previous discovery by Don José Escalante of the presence of copper and silver on the south side of the island, in the neighbourhood of the Hoyo de Manicaragua, about twelve leagues from the bay and harbour of Jagua, to which a cart road has already been opened by the company. This new mine stands in the judicial jurisdiction of Villa Clara, from the seat of which it is also distant about twelve leagues, on the farther side of the ridges of Escambray; so that it is nearly in the centre of the island, in a south-east direction from the town of Trinidad de Cuba.

Within a year after the formation of the American company, they had expended upwards of $150,000 in the acquisition of land, the erection of

buildings, the construction of roads, and the purchase of machinery; but, as in the case of the new establishments at Cobre adjoining those of the English company, it is understood that this expenditure has not been laid out in the most prudent or economical manner. The returns of the first year, however, were already 400 tons of copper ore, the metallic produce of which has been estimated as high as 25 per cent. Two cargoes had been shipped from Jagua and Cienfuegos for New York, and an equal quantity remained in the company's warehouses. Since my return to Europe, I have heard that a considerable quantity of copper ore has been shipped by this company to Swansea. In the first years of the enterprise, the American mine, to the infinite credit of the company, was worked exclusively by freemen, of whom about 150 were employed; and it was proposed to establish a white colony in the neighbourhood of the mine, into which natives or foreigners were to be equally admissible. It will be gratifying to the friends of freedom in all parts of the world to learn that this system of colonisation has been crowned with success.

The American company has obtained from the superintendent of public domains the same privilege of working their mines, and importing their machinery for ten years free of duty, which the English company enjoys; but more recent experience appears to indicate that the anticipations of Messrs. Smith, Bradford, and Escalante were somewhat too sanguine, and that the average produce of metal

from a given quantity of mineral, will scarcely be sufficient, when the long land journey is taken into account, to enable them to compete successfully with the copper produced in other parts of the world.

In the course of a visit to the spot where the people of Cuba pretend that Columbus first set his foot in the New World, I was told that some other American miners had discovered a rich vein of silver, or, as it was called at Batabano, of *metalo fino*, in the neighbouring isle of Pines; but the story was either altogether fabulous, or else the American discoverers must have succeeded in keeping it a profound secret, as their intelligent consul at the Havana had heard nothing at all of it, and Captain Bushby, of H.M.S. Wanderer, assured me that he had just been cruising all round the Isle of Pines, looking out for slavers, and had heard nothing whatever of the new discovery. The copper boilers used in the island for sugar making were formerly brought from Lima; but for many years back, English and American iron boilers have been generally used in their stead.

When we had fully satisfied our curiosity at the Cobre, Captain Sherer, as was his duty, began to suggest that the limit allowed him by the higher authorities at Jamaica was in danger of being passed, and although there was little danger of any outbreak among the newly emancipated negroes, notwithstanding the turbulence, as it was the fashion to call it, of the House of Assembly; still, as his coals were so bad, and his time therefore in

greater danger of being exhausted, he felt it his duty to put to sea without further delay. The hospitality of the consul, however, was not to be baffled by any such consideration. Representing that the overland mail from the Havana was nearly a week overdue, in consequence of the impassable state of the roads and rivers, produced by the heavy rains which had lately fallen, he said, that, considering the important news then hourly expected of the proceedings of the French squadron on the other side of the Gulf of Mexico, he would take it upon him, as her Majesty's consul, to assume the responsibility of detaining the Dee for at least twenty-four hours, in order to afford some additional chance of conveying to the government at home and to the Commodore on the Jamaica station such important political results as might transpire through the expected mail from the Havana.

In this the worthy consul discovered at once his kindness and his sagacity. It turned out in the sequel, that just about this time the British admiral arrived on the North American station at Jamaica with a considerable squadron under his command, the object of which was to proceed to Vera Cruz, and, backing the intervention of Mr. Pakenham, produce a friendly diversion in favour of the Mexicans. Unfortunately for the issue, the British squadron was retarded by unforeseen events. The admiral, on his reaching the rendezvous of Port Royal, found himself so seriously indisposed as to be unable to

proceed; and the future command of the projected operations devolved, therefore, on our excellent friend Commodore Douglass, than whom, perhaps, no officer in the service was better fitted to execute the difficult and delicate task which, in conjunction with the British plenipotentiary, it might have become his duty to perform. Before his arrival at Sacrificios, however, the blow had been struck, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, which the Mexicans had fondly imagined to be impregnable, had fallen before a random shot, thrown from one of the French guns *à la Paixhaus*, resembling, in all respects, the principal gun on board our own steamer, the Dee, which blew up the principal magazine, and thus effected a breach, which, with French intrepidity, became easily practicable.

These guns, which are now very generally adopted in the British, as well as the French service, and since the period in question have also been introduced into that of the United States, are, perhaps, the most formidable warlike instruments of modern invention. That on board the Dee, we had ample opportunity of examining. Its length, I think, was not less than fourteen feet; and its bore was so considerable as to admit of a hollow shot, which, when charged, weighed eighty-four pounds English, but which, had it been solid, would have reached the extraordinary ponderosity of 140 pounds. The weight of the whole machine, with its carriage, and the powerful pivot on which it turned, so as to traverse round nearly three fourths of the circle, was equal, as we were assured,

to no less than eight tons. On board the Dee it was placed in the after part of the ship, and was provided with a circular railway, to diminish the friction in turning it.

A few months before, at the time of my visit to Fort Royal, Martinique, which has since been the scene of such a lamentable catastrophe, the French admiral, De la Bretonnière, was good enough to invite me on board his crack frigate, La Didon, carrying at that time, on two decks, 64 guns, of various calibre, although rated only at 60, for the purpose of pointing out to me the tremendous power which his four guns, *à la Paixhaus*, could be made to exercise. On board the Didon, these guns were placed on the lower deck (but not turning on a pivot as on board the Dee), two on either side, as near as possible amidships; and as the admiral explained to me, they were calculated, although the experiment had not then been tried, by the bursting of the shot or shell, after being embedded in the side or wall of the enemy's ship, to which it might be opposed, to make a hole between wind and water, not less than three feet in diameter. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the power of these formidable projectiles, to be able to form an opinion of the accuracy of Admiral de la Bretonnière's calculation; but there can be very little doubt that in the next naval war with which mankind may be afflicted, its issue will, in a great measure, depend on the application of the steam engine to purposes of navigation, in combination with this new and terrible invention.

We could observe that it was with some little reluctance the consul had been prevailed upon to accompany us in paying our respects to the lieutenant-governor of the province, Don Tomas Yarto. This gentleman had made himself exceedingly unpopular among the liberal portion of the community, by the disposition he had evinced, and the arbitrary steps he had taken a short time before, on the occasion of one of those commotions which from time to time occur in the island, as often as intelligence arrives of the ascendency which the *Moderados*, or the *Exaltados*, may have obtained for the moment in the councils of her Majesty at Madrid. From the large stake he holds in the country, Mr. Hardy naturally feels a warm interest in the ascendency of those principles on which, in his opinion, it ought to be governed; and, unfortunately, when a lieutenant-governor arrives, entertaining opposite views, it is not always possible to avoid some disagreeable collision. On such occasions the opinions of the consul are identified in the mind of the governor with those of the country he represents; and if an unfortunate Englishman should be thrown on the shores of the island, without a regular passport, he would, probably, be put in prison, and detained there for months, to gratify a petty feeling of revenge. Two such cases had not long before occurred, one in the time of Yarto, the other in that of his immediate predecessor, Don Juan de Moya. In the one case, Mr. Potts, while sailing in a pleasure boat, on the shores of Jamaica, had been blown off the coast,

and sought shelter at Santiago. In the other, Mr. Campbell had been shipwrecked on the Bahamas, and from thence had been landed in Cuba, on his way back to Jamaica. In both cases, the parties were thrown into prison, and it required the interposition of the British government at home to obtain their liberation.

General Lorenzo, another of these lieutenant-governors, had thrown himself so completely into the hands of the ultra-liberal party, as, in the opinion of his superior officer at the Havana, the celebrated Captain-General Tacon, to endanger not only the immediate tranquillity of the island, but to put in jeopardy its future connection with the mother country. It may be doubted how far a British officer was justified in lending himself to the interests of either party in an emergency which, excepting in the private opinion of General Tacon, did not necessarily involve the allegiance of the inhabitants of the island to the government of the Queen, but extended only to the adoption or rejection of those constitutional forms which of late years have so often divided the opinions of the people of the Peninsula. It so happened, however, that the commander of a British cruiser, whose name it is not necessary to publish, but whose instructions, in all probability, did not exceed the watching of the shores of the island against the descent of slavers from the coast of Africa, and which cannot, at all events, be supposed to have extended to any political interference with the affairs of the local government, was

prevailed upon to invite General Lorenzo on board his ship, and, whether with his consent or without it does not appear, to carry him, a guest or a prisoner, to the Havana. The power over the person of Lorenzo, thus obtained by General Tacon, appears to have been used with comparative moderation. Instead of sending him a prisoner to Europe, Lorenzo was suffered to leave the island without molestation. It may fairly be doubted, whether this appearance of moderation arose from clemency or prudence on the part of the Captain-General. It might not be wise to agitate the question of the constitution at the Havana, where all had hitherto remained tranquil. At Santiago it is said that not less than 500 of the Exaltado party were exterminated on the occasion of this outbreak. It was not long after these events that the power of Tacon himself was undermined; but into this it will be more convenient to enter after we have carried the reader to the capital.

CHAP. II.

DEPARTURE FROM SANTIAGO. — ARMAMENT OE THE DEE. — THE BENCH AND THE BAR. — THE GRANDE ANTILLA. — BRITISH AUTHORITIES AT HAVANA. — TRAVELLING IN OLD SPAIN. — CAPTAIN-GENERAL ESPELETA. — COMMISSARY JUDGES. — SUPERINTENDENT OF AFRICANS. — FRENCH CONSUL-GENERAL. — LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION.

Not content with the liberal exercise of his hospitality at his residence in the country, Mr. Hardy insisted on devoting the day he had contrived to gain for us to an entertainment which he caused to be provided at his spacious mansion in the city of Santiago. The social habits of the people in this part of the island bear a stronger resemblance to those of Port-au-Prince, and the other great towns of St. Domingo, than to the system adopted in the capital. The principal meal of the day, by some called a dinner, and by others a breakfast, is usually served at twelve o'clock. At the Havana, the peninsular custom prevails of dining at three in the afternoon, and afterwards indulging in the *siesta*. The old Spaniards, in fact, divide their four-and-twenty hours into two little days, which, as far as eating or sleeping is concerned, are made to resemble each other as nearly as possible. As soon as they awake in the morning, they must have their crust of bread and their tiny

cup of chocolate, which they find sufficient to sustain them till the hour of dinner, of which they make a hearty meal. Here the first of the two little days may be said to end; and after the *siesta* the crust of bread and the chocolate are repeated, leaving another interval of abstinence from five o'clock till midnight, when they eat a hearty supper, resembling in all respects their three o'clock dinner, and go once more to bed, setting at open defiance the old rhyming Latin maxim:—

> "Ex magnâ cœnâ stomacho fit maxima pœna,
> Ut sis nocte levis, sit tibi cœna brevis."

After dinner comes the *paseo* and the interchange of visits, those of ceremony being reserved for the saints' days of the first order, the *Fiestas de dos Cruces*. When the ordinary resources of music, dancing, and conversation, are found insufficient to fill up the evening, the people of the Havana have the same public *funcions* to go to as in the great cities of the Peninsula, the theatre, the opera, or the Corrida de Toros.

After the consul's farewell entertainment, to which I believe every individual was invited whose acquaintance we had made in the island, with the exception always of Don Tomas Yarto, the wind having fortunately veered round so as to admit of the sailing of the Grande Antilla, we put ourselves once more on board the Dee, so as to enjoy to the last the society of the friends who had so kindly accompanied us from Jamaica, and the steamer having taken the boat in tow, which contained our baggage, we took our final leave of Santiago with

flying colours, and very soon found ourselves installed among the numerous party which Captain Vicent y Vives had collected on board his *fragata*, as ships of that class are called among the Spaniards, however peaceful their occupation.

We must not take our final leave of Captain Sherer, without paying a parting tribute to his gallantry and worth. His last achievement, which gained for him his second epaulette, was one of the most brilliant and remarkable which our long continued struggle for the suppression of the slave trade has produced, and had, no doubt, a large share in teaching the slavers to seek safety in flight, and however superior in weight of metal, or in numbers, to trust no longer to the hopeless chance of a violent resistance. The Monkey, which Lieutenant Sherer formerly commanded, was one of the smallest and least considerable of the cruisers employed in this arduous service. She mounted but one gun, of a kind called a Long Tom, having a much more extensive range than is usual in the armament of vessels of her diminutive size. Falling in on a friendly shore with one of the largest of the ships engaged in that nefarious traffic, Lieutenant Sherer, with a force exceedingly disproportionate, did not hesitate to attack the slaver, although armed with fourteen guns, and provided with a numerous crew of the most determined desperadoes. Taking up a position where his long gun told with deadly effect, while the shot of the enemy fell short and harmless, Lieutenant Sherer found means to keep the slaver engaged so long as

to enable him to send ashore for assistance, without which it would have been impossible for him to take possession of his prize. Until we had finally parted with Captain Sherer, we had never had the good fortune to hear of this incident in his history. We first became acquainted with it on visiting some of the other cruisers on the Havana station, the commanders of which had ornamented their cabins with an engraving descriptive of the event. On board the Dee no copy of this engraving was to be found, although to have seen it there could scarcely have excited any thing like that sort of feeling which is too often called forth in this country, by the exhibition in our drawing-rooms of some sorry portrait of the master of the house.

The armament of the Dee was not, perhaps, in very just proportion to the dimensions of the ship for tonnage, to the complement of her crew, nor to the amount of the steam power with which she was provided. Before she received on board the monstrous piece of ordnance already described, she was armed with three guns,—two Dicksons, and a long pivot gun,—all three thirty-two pounders. At the time I have been speaking of, the thirty-two-pound pivot gun remained on board, being placed in the bows of the ship, so as to give it a wide field of action, not less perhaps than 270°, but the two Dicksons had been replaced by the eighty-four pounder. The flush deck of the Dee is, perhaps, one of the most spacious in the service, being 168 feet in length, and 38 feet wide, exclusive of the paddle boxes, this great superficial

extent being, doubtless, designed for the accommodation of troops, in transporting them from one colony to another. While at Barbadoes, I was informed by Lieutenant-General Whittingham, the commander of the forces throughout the British West Indies, with the exception of Jamaica, that he would willingly give up one of the regiments under his command, in exchange for such a steamer as the Dee, in consequence of the great advantage he would gain in point of mobility; and at Jamaica, this advantage having already been attained, Sir Lionel Smith informed me some three months after the termination of the apprenticeship, such was his confidence in the maintenance of tranquillity among the emancipated negroes, that he was about to write to the government, placing two of the six regiments under his command at their disposal. The registered tonnage of the Dee is 703, her depth in the engine room, sixteen feet four inches, and when she has her full complement of coals, fresh water, and provisions on board, she draws thirteen feet ten inches aft, and twelve feet six inches forward. She can carry 230 tons of coals, 35 tons of fresh water, and four months' provisions for a crew of 126 men. On the last occasion of her crossing the Atlantic, she was sent out as a sort of tender on the "Great Western," as Lord Durham was familiarly called at Quebec; but from the shortness of his lordship's stay, and the accidents which occurred in the passage, the High Commissioner was compelled to avail himself of the services of the John Bull, one

of the best of the river boats on the St. Lawrence.

It is to the sagacity and penetration of another noble lord, the most eccentric, if not the ablest of our surviving ex-chancellors, that Jamaica is indebted for the best chief justice that has perhaps ever presided over any of our colonial tribunals. The father of our fellow-traveller, Sir Joshua Rowe, had occasion to retain Mr. Brougham not long before his elevation to the Woolsack, as his counsel in a cause of very great importance, and young Rowe, who was then a student in one of the inns of court, displayed so much industry, ability, and research in cramming the distinguished senior against the day of trial, that Mr. Brougham had the best means of seeing what the young man was made of, and did not forget his young client when the vast patronage of the head of the law came to be placed at his disposal. With the exception of Dr. Reddie at St. Lucia, who also owes his promotion to Lord Brougham, Sir Joshua Rowe was perhaps one of the youngest men who has ever been raised to the dignity of a chief justice; and I speak from personal observation, having repeatedly had the honour to sit beside him on the bench, in declaring my conviction of his extreme aptitude, from his talents, temper, and application, for the fit discharge of the duties of the high office to which he has been called.

In other colonies I have had the mortification to meet with chief justices and other presidents of tribunals who have shown themselves far inferior

in legal attainments to the leading counsel at their bar; and the natural consequence has been, that while the advocate, presuming too much on his superior knowledge, lays down the law to the bench, the temper of the judge is often so severely tried as to produce irreconcileable differences with the bar, and to betray such want of temper as to sink him still lower in their estimation. Such scenes are of course more likely to occur in the courts of the conquered colonies, where the basis of the law is, perhaps, French, Dutch, or Spanish, with an ill-defined superstructure of the English law of evidence, or the addition of some equally vague though more separate department, such as the *Lex Mercatoria* of British jurisprudence.

To this disadvantage the Chief Justice of Jamaica has not been exposed; but, independent of such considerations, there is in all our trans-atlantic tribunals enough of that spirit of discord which seems unhappily to prevail among Englishmen, as often as they are removed to a great distance from home, to make the task of conciliating or controlling the bar sufficiently arduous. In these distant colonies, moreover, as, perhaps, in all young countries, the practical line of distinction between the counsel and the attorney has not been very clearly defined, so that the invidious duty of putting the solicitors of Jamaica in their proper place remained to be performed so lately as the arrival of Sir Joshua Rowe in the island. This he has contrived to do so calmly and so well, as to excite the very minimum of discontent

among those who have suffered in their interests or their social relations from the new arrangement.

Outside the Moro Castle we found the Grande Antilla under sail, and ready to prosecute her voyage. She had been built only a year before at Malta, under the eye of her present commander; and in point of accommodation and equipment, she would stand a favourable comparison with the best of the old sailing packets between Liverpool and New York. Unfortunately for us, the best places were preoccupied by the seventy and odd passengers we found already on board; but, after all, we had little reason to complain of the cabin provided for us; and if one must be confined in a crowded ship where so many personal sacrifices are always required, I should certainly prefer, after a good deal of experience, to travel with Spaniards than with the people of any other nation on the face of the earth. I make this statement advisedly, in spite of the considerable deduction arising from the fact, which it would be unfair to withhold, that every individual on board, man, woman, and child, used tobacco incessantly, in every form but the abominable one of chewing and its concomitant expectoration, an atrocity reserved for our brethren of North America. The married ladies, several of them the wives of officers of some rank in the army, smoked openly and undisguisedly, preferring in general that strong sort of tobacco which is made up into cigars in the form called the Long Tom, some five or six inches in length. The young ladies make

their maiden essay with the *cigarillo*, which consists of a very small portion of the much cherished weed, of the mildest possible flavour, wrapped up in paper prepared for the purpose, by dipping it in a solution of alum just strong enough to prevent it from bursting into flame, or wasting away faster than the semi-pulverised tobacco contained in it. It is but fair to add, that in the first circles at the Havana, as at the court of her Catholic Majesty, ladies, young or old, of the highest rank, are as free from this indulgence as in other parts of the world.

The Mexican ladies are evidently more devoted to this habit than their fair sisters of the Peninsula. But although I have travelled over Old Spain, from the one end of the country to the other, and, during a residence there of some fifteen months, have lived on terms of intimacy with many of the kind-hearted inhabitants, I certainly never had the chance to be involved in clouds of smoke so dense as in the cabin of the good ship the Grande Antilla. The fare on board was of course exclusively Spanish, more decidedly so, indeed, than any thing I had ever met with in Europe. Their favourite condiment, the garlic, prevailed in almost every dish, so that it required us to make interest with the *Cabo de Cocina*, to avoid the daily pollution.

In the French West India colonies the language of navigation is exclusively English; although, except in what relates to nautical affairs, the seamen, white, black, or brown, speak no language but their own. In former times, when the proud Armadas of Spain were to be found in

every sea, our sailors did not disdain to borrow such words of the vocabulary of their most powerful rivals as best suited their purpose. The word *avast!* for instance, is evidently a mere corruption of the Spanish word *basta*, or *vasta*, which, when repeated rapidly, produces the selfsame sound. English words, of modern application to naval affairs, are to be heard on board the ships of every nation, such as the *stop!* in taking the time from the chronometer, so admirably suited, from the sudden compression of the lips, to effect its purpose promptly.

The ship, upon the whole, was exceedingly well navigated, so that it was with surprise, as well as regret, that we heard before quitting the Havana, that she had been stranded on the island of Sacrificios, the rendezvous of the French and English squadrons on the coast of Mexico; but whether she had been previously deprived of her pilot, as was the British packet the Express, within a few days of the event, I was not able to learn. On the return of the Express from Vera Cruz and Tampico, I had occasion to pass a night on board in the harbour of the Havana, with a friend, who was going home in her a passenger, and had a good deal of conversation on the subject with Lieutenant Croke, before his indignation had had quite time to cool. I could not help expressing to him, in very strong terms, my own feelings on the subject, which, I rejoice to find, have since been fully sustained by public opinion in England, and by statesmen of high station in both houses of parlia-

ment. It is, doubtless, to be regretted, that an officer of the British navy should have submitted so tamely to the indignity committed on his flag, without even opposing the show of passive resistance to the princely aggression. His Royal Highness did me afterwards the honour of inviting me on board his ship, the Creole; but although he was exceedingly communicative on all other subjects, even to the announcement of a French attack on Mexico, on the side of the Pacific, which has not yet taken place, he did not say a word of his adventure with the Express.

From the terms of the apology afterwards offered by Admiral Baudin to Commodore Douglass, it seems as if he had it in charge to assume the paternity of all the errors of his princely *protégé*, since, if I rightly remember, the name of his Royal Highness is not even mentioned in it. It is to be hoped, however, that the gallant old admiral took occasion to read such a private lecture to the prince, as will deter him when he rises to a higher station in the naval service of France, from falling, on, perhaps, a larger scale, into similar blunders.

By the kindness of Lord Palmerston and Lord Glenelg I was provided with the necessary introductions to all the British authorities at the Havana, Mr. Kennedy, her Majesty's commissary judge, and Mr. Dalrymple, the arbitrator in the court of mixed commission, Dr. Madden, the superintendent of liberated Africans, and the consul, Mr. Tolmé. From all these gentlemen I met with the most marked attention during the whole pe-

riod of my stay; but to Dr. Madden I was indebted not only for his unbounded hospitality at the Havana, but for his valuable assistance in the prosecution of my inquiries, and his agreeable company in several of my excursions into the interior. To Mr. Tolmé I was obliged for much more than official civility, in his supplying me with notes of the information he had collected during his residence in the island.

Even without the advantage of special letters of recommendation, the access to the Spanish authorities was far from being difficult. The new captain-general, Espeleta, is perhaps of too mild and gentle a disposition to be well suited for the supreme command of a colony where so large a proportion of its inhabitants, from the undiminished prevalence of the slave trade, are in a state of the most savage barbarism. It is doubtless to the more amiable qualities of the new governor's mind that we are indebted for the sneering pasquinade which was in every body's mouth at the time of our arrival: —

" El General Tacon
Vale un doblon,
El General Espeleta
No vale una peseta."

The consul's introduction to the Captain-General needed no extraneous support; but it so happened that I was able, at my first audience, to make his Excellency laugh at a little incident which befel me a few years ago at Saragossa, where his elder brother, the Conde de Espeleta, a grandee of Spain,

held also the office of captain-general. At the period in question, a few weeks after the death of Ferdinand VII., a journey through the Spanish territory was supposed to be an expedition of a very hazardous nature; and I therefore took the precaution to mention my project to Lord Granville, the British ambassador, in Paris, who, with his accustomed kindness and consideration, proposed to make me the bearer of the semblance of a despatch-bag, which would, probably, afford some protection from the *facciosos*, who had already begun to make their appearance on the frontier. Before the day I had fixed for leaving Paris, some event had arisen to make it necessary for the ambassador to send real despatches to our minister in Madrid; and as I was willing in this part of the journey to travel as fast as post horses could carry me, I made no objection to his lordship's proposal, that, in place of the sham bag, I should take charge of the real one. Lest I should meet with *ladrones*, as well as *facciosos*, on the road, I carried no more money with me than what I was assured would be quite sufficient to carry me to Madrid; but, having consulted the Consul at Bayonne, in compliance with Lord Granville's instructions, as to the safety of proceeding by way of Irun and Vittoria, I was informed that a king's messenger had been stopped only two days before, and that it would be necessary for the safety of the despatches that they should go round by Perpignan and Barcelona. This change of route, and the high price charged for post horses on a line of road not then

much frequented, made it pretty clear by the time of my reaching Saragossa, that I should arrive much sooner at the bottom of my purse, than at the capital of the monarchy. In this awkward state of things I waited on a French banker, for whom I had brought a simple letter of recommendation from his correspondent at Bayonne; but in consequence, as he alleged, of the disturbed state of the country which had for some time interrupted all commercial transactions, he declined to afford me the assistance I required, even after I had shown him my credentials, and had offered to give him a draft for the money on Mr. Villiers, now Lord Clarendon, the British minister in Madrid. In this perplexity it occurred to me to make an appeal to the highest authority on the spot, and to represent to him that the despatches of which I was the bearer were probably of quite as much importance to the government of his royal mistress as to that of my own sovereign, and that it might therefore be his duty to help me on my way. On reaching the residence of the Viceroy of Arragon, I found his Excellency surrounded by a brilliant staff; but he readily listened to the statement I made to him, in the course of which I mentioned what had just occurred in my interview with the French banker. His Excellency no sooner heard of this than he ordered that a messenger should be instantly sent for the poor Frenchman, who quickly made his appearance in a very different plight, and with quite another bearing to what he had just displayed under his own roof to a waylaid

traveller. Addressing him in the tone of a captain-general, his Excellency desired to know what he meant by his refusal to furnish a stranger who brought such undeniable credentials with the means of prosecuting his journey. To this the trembling Frenchman did not venture a reply; but anticipating what was wanted of him, he produced on the instant the small sum I required, and left me to express my thanks to the Captain-General for the essential service he had rendered me.

This little anecdote is so perfectly Spanish in its character, that I cannot resist its introduction, although it has little other claim to a place in this narrative, beyond the fact that its repetition to the Captain-General of Cuba had some share in procuring for me many of the facilities I enjoyed during my stay in the island, in arriving at accurate and unprejudiced information.

Since my return to Europe, I have learned that General Espeleta, after a short administration, is to be replaced in the government by the Principe de Anglona, who will doubtless be instructed to pursue the same line of policy on the subject of the slave trade which has heretofore been prescribed to every captain-general in succession, since the first indications have been manifested of a desire for independence in Spanish America. The government of the Prince of Anglona is not likely to be signalised by that extreme rigour towards the Creoles which marked the administration of General Tacon. The prince has the reputation of possessing a kind and benevolent disposition; but he is supposed to

be indebted for this lucrative appointment much more to the influence of his sister the Marquesa de Santa Cruz over the mind of the Queen Regent, than to any known talent on his part in the art of governing. During the peninsular war, the prince served for some time under the Duke of Wellington. He is the uncle of the young Duque de Osuna, who of late years has made himself so distinguished in the gay circles of London and Paris.

At the Havana, the Conde de Villanueva, the intendent-general of the island, is a person who, from his immense wealth, and the nature of his functions, in a country where finance and corruption are supposed to go hand in hand, enjoys a degree of influence and power very little inferior to that of the viceroy. To this personage I had also the advantage of a favourable introduction which procured for me the readiest access to the public archives, and to other sources of official information, not in general thrown open to the most inquisitive strangers.

The Conde de Fernandina, her Catholic Majesty's commissary judge, and Don Juan de Montalvo y O' Farrel, the arbitrator in the mixed commission, were also persons whom I found equally accessible in person as they are dignified in bearing, and agreeable in manners. Noblemen of the highest rank, who have scarcely ever left the island, they are said to have accepted the onerous offices they hold in the mixed commission, which they execute gratuitously, in order to avoid the necessity which would otherwise be pressed upon them of making

their appearance at court in these troublesome times.

In the whole framework of this commission, and in the principles on which it is constituted, there is something exceedingly farcical. The chief duty of the tribunal is to adjudicate on the claims of the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers, for the condemnation of the prizes they have detained or captured, in consequence of their infraction of the existing treaties between Spain and Great Britain, on the subject of the slave trade. In the first instance the two commissary judges hear the evidence adduced in support of the claim of condemnation, together with the exculpatory proof on the part of the captain or owner of the prize; but, as might be expected from the materials of which the court is composed, the commissary judges are very rarely agreed in opinion as to the judgment which ought to be pronounced; so that it becomes necessary, almost invariably, to call in one of the arbitrators, to settle the difference in the capacity of umpire. To admit the intervention of both would lead to no practical result, as it has been found that the Spanish arbitrator adopts the views of the Spanish commissary, with the most edifying uniformity; and the English functionaries are compelled in self-defence to follow the example.

In this state of things as often as the court is divided in opinion, since it is by no means a matter of indifference, on which of the arbitrators the powers of an umpire shall devolve, the ingenious expedient has been resorted to of appealing for the

choice to a power, which, according to the ancient mythology, is represented as having one quality in common with justice, that of being blind. The dice box is produced; the learned judges *tirent à la courte paille;* or Dame Fortune is appealed to by some other form of lottery, to determine which shall arbitrate—the Spaniard or the Englishman—between their dissident chiefs, so that it may be fairly said at the Havana, and perhaps also at the other courts of Rio de Janeiro, Surinam, and Sierra Leone, that the condemnation of a slaver depends not nearly so much on fact, or law, or the merits of the case, as on the less fallible doctrine of chances.

The English commissary judge in the mixed commission, Mr. Kennedy, is a gentleman who will long be remembered as the only member representing an English constituency in the British House of Commons, who divided with Mr. O'Connell in his celebrated motion for the repeal of the Union. On the return of the present ministers to power after the last short administration of the Tories, the seat required for the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs was procured by the retirement of Mr. Kennedy from Tiverton. He is supposed to have stipulated for a high diplomatic appointment; but after some months' delay, the treaty was brought to a conclusion by his acceptance of this judicial office, at the Havana, which, besides the enjoyment of a house rent free, is remunerated with a salary of 1600*l.* a year. By a stipulation between the two governments, the Spanish judges at Sierra

Leone are provided with dwelling houses at the expense of England, and, in return, the English judges at the Havana are similarly provided at the expense of Spain. The practice at the Havana is for a new judge on his arrival, to ascertain what houses there may be to let that would suit him; and having made his selection, he signifies the fact to the local authorities, who indemnify the landlord, and so relieve the judge from all concern about his rent.

The arbitrator, Mr. Dalrymple, had only lately been promoted from a similar situation in the court of mixed commission at Surinam, where his situation was in all respects inferior, the climate being intolerable, and the salary 200*l.* less than it is at the Havana. It must, therefore, have been a serious punishment to his predecessor, Mr. Schenley, to be moved, as he has been, from his comfortable quarters at the Havana to the pestiferous swamps of Surinam.

The office of superintendent of liberated Africans is one of recent creation, arising out of the necessity of providing for the present comfort and future freedom of the negroes captured by our cruisers, and brought with the slaver to the Havana, preparatory to her condemnation; and assuredly this interesting office could not possibly have been entrusted to a gentleman more sincerely or more entirely devoted to its duties than its first and present incumbent, Dr. Madden. In connection with this office, there has for some time been stationed in the harbour of the Havana a British hulk or

ponton, under the command of a British officer, Lieutenant Jenkins, of her Majesty's navy, whose duty it is to receive on board and provide for the liberated crews of the slavers, as soon as the mixed commission has passed the necessary sentence of condemnation.

Mr. Tolmé, in his consular capacity, is one of the most efficient, intelligent, and courteous of the numerous servants of her Majesty, whom it has been my fortune to meet with in any part of the world. Unfortunately for the public service, quite as much as for himself, his salary is so limited, being not more than 300*l.* a year, that he has been compelled to engage in business as a merchant and a planter, in order to enable him to occupy that station in society which the nature of his office imperatively requires. Now of all the stations where it has been found necessary to place a consul for the protection of British interests, the Havana is the very last where this necessity should have place. It is impossible for any man, however theoretically opposed to the practice of slavery, to become either planter or merchant in the island of Cuba without giving his countenance directly or indirectly to a system which has happily been for ever abolished throughout the wide-spread dominions of the British crown. The concomitant evils, also, are not unworthy of consideration. The British authorities at the Havana ought clearly to be acting as one man in discountenancing slavery, as well as in the suppression of the slave trade. But so long as the consul is compelled by the inade-

quacy of his official income to employ slaves on his plantation, and as a merchant to import goods, which may afterwards find their way to the coast of Africa, it is impossible that there can be much cordiality between him and the other British functionaries, whose duty, of course, it is to set their faces against slavery in all its accursed forms.

The trade of France with the Havana, as may be seen from the official returns, is greatly inferior to that of England, and yet France is represented by her consul-general with a salary of 60,000 francs a year. The American consul is paid by fees; but his income, from the great amount of the trade, is probably more considerable than that of the French consul-general. I was told at Washington, by Mr. Van Buren, that the Havana consulate was one of the most lucrative offices in the gift of the government. This is fully borne out by the official returns of both countries, from which it is equally to be inferred that the income is sufficient and even ample; although, probably, not greater than is warranted by the nature and extent of the duties to be performed, and the station in society which the consul is expected to fill, in a city where luxury abounds, and where the most modest style of living is unusually expensive. According to the report of Mr. Woodbury, the secretary of the United States treasury, the imports from Cuba for 1838, amounted to $11,694,812, and the exports for the same year to $6,175,758. From Porto Rico, the imports were $2,686,152, and the exports $723,052.

The letters I had brought to non-official residents, to merchants in the city, and proprietors of plantations, were also in their way exceedingly useful; and although it is the fashion among a certain class of travellers, laying claim to an unnatural independence, to despise such adventitious aids, and trust entirely for success in the pursuit of instruction to their own personal resources, I do not hesitate to confess, that by such means I have generally been enabled to economise my time, and to reach my object more easily and more agreeably than I could possibly have done without them.

My very first step on shore afforded satisfactory evidence of the advantage of being provided with an adequate supply of such letters. Having previously sent to the consul for his assistance under a difficulty created by the carelessness of one of the officers of the Grande Antilla, who had taken my passport from me and mislaid it, I found that he was out of town for the day, that there was no vice-consul on the station, and that I was therefore in danger of being detained on board for some indefinite period. Nay, for aught I know to the contrary, there may possibly have been some danger of my being sent for a month or two to prison, as was but lately the case with my countrymen, Messrs. Campbell and Potts, at Santiago de Cuba, for no other reason than that their passports were not exactly *en règle*. A most efficient substitute, however, was promptly obtained by means of the letters I had brought for the eminent

English house of Drake and Co. Mr. Morison of that house not only did not hesitate to sign a bond for my relief; but, as in the course of my journeyings among the islands of this Archipelago, my baggage had increased, by the addition of books, specimens, and other matters, to a most inconvenient bulk, such was Mr. Morison's influence with the presiding *Aduanero*, or such rather the confidence his high character inspired, that the form of passing my unopened packages through the great lobby of the custom-house sufficed; without subjecting them to the derangement of even a slight examination.

CHAP. III.

STATE OF SLAVERY. — FIELD SLAVES. — WHIPPING POST. — THE PRISON. — THE BARRACOONS. — CREOLES AND BOZALS. — AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

BETWEEN the planters of Cuba and those of the British colonies, there is this remarkable difference, that when an Englishman does not reside on his estate, he is an absentee from the island altogether, and is willing to remain in England, or at least in Europe, until he has run so far ahead of his resources, that he is compelled to return to the tropics for the sake of retrenchment. This state of things has given rise to the race of planting attorneys so admirably described in the work of my friend, Dr. Madden, and has also made it necessary to employ a superior class of overseers to those who enjoy the corresponding station of *Mayoral* in the island of Cuba. Unlike the British planter, the Cuba proprietor has no desire to return to the mother country, between which and the colony the ties of affection are becoming daily more relaxed, leaving nothing in their stead but the iron grasp of power, which some unforeseen accident may burst suddenly, at once and for ever.

The Spanish planter, although he does not leave the island, scarcely ever resides on his estate; where there is rarely any mansion house fit for his

reception. The great majority of them live constantly at the Havana, and a few have taken up their residence at Santiago and Matanzas, and the minor cities of the island. They may possibly be separated from their estates by a distance of hundreds of miles, without the advantage of any thing in the shape of roads that are either safe or practicable. Finding nothing on his plantation to repay the fatigue of his journey, or supply the place of the luxuries of the colonial capital, he visits it so seldom that he may be considered quite as much an absentee from his estate as the Jamaica planter who has taken up his residence at Rome or Naples.

As the experience of years had taught me to believe that the Spaniards are a kind and warm-hearted race, and as I had frequently been told that the slave owners of the Havana were the most indulgent masters in the world, I was not a little surprised to find, as the result of personal inquiry and minute observation, that in this last particular I had been most miserably deceived, and that in no quarter, unless, perhaps, in the Brazils, which I have not visited, is the state of slavery so desperately wretched as it is at this moment on the sugar plantations of the queen of the Indies, the far-famed island of Cuba.

The error I had fallen into is so universal among people who have never visited the island, and so common even with those who have made some stay at the Havana, but have never proceeded into the interior that when I discovered it, I felt that it deserved some little investigation. When

a stranger visits the town residence of a Cuba proprietor, he finds the family surrounded by a little colony of slaves of every variety of complexion from ebony to alabaster. Most of them have been born in the house, have grown with the growth of the family, and are, perhaps, the foster brothers or foster sisters of the master or his children. In such circumstances, it would be surprising if an uncivilised barbarian were to treat them harshly; and for a Spanish, and much more for a Creole, master to do so, imbued as he is with all the warmth of the social affections, is totally out of the question. These long retinues of domestics are kept up by some from an idle love of pageantry, but, by others, from the more honourable desire of not parting with those born under their roof, and for that reason, bearing their name; as it is the practice in Cuba, and in other slave countries into which Africans are imported, for the first proprietor, whether his title be acquired by purchase or inheritance, to bestow his own patronymic, together with a Christian name, on his slave, whether an imported Bozal or an infant Creole, at the time when the indispensable ceremony of baptism is performed.

The distinction of ranks among the various classes of society is as carefully kept up in Cuba as in the most aristocratical countries of the Old World. The first includes the resident grandees of Spain, of whom there are about thirty, the Titulos of Castile, resembling as nearly as possible the anomalous rank of Baronet in England, and the

Hacendados, or landed gentry, of the island. Next after them come the Empleados, or civil functionaries in the public offices, of whom, at the Havana alone, there are said to be 1000; and on the same level with these gentlemen may be placed the officers of the army and navy. The merchants, Spanish, Creole, or foreign, hold only the third place in the order of precedency. After them come their clerks, French, English, North American, or German; such of them as come from Spain being chiefly *Gaditaṇos*. Retail merchants and shopkeepers hold a still lower station; they come in general from the Canaries, Catalonia, Biscay, or North America. The Gallegos, like our own Irish labourers, occupy the lowest place in the social scale; the coloured and negro race being tabooed altogether. The emigrants from Old Spain and the Canaries, but especially the Catalans and Gallegos, with their descendants, may be considered a permanent addition to the population; but foreigners, who generally come as clerks and depart as merchants, take root but rarely.

It has often been remarked that even hired servants have an interest directly opposed to that of their masters. How much more true is the old Latin proverb, "*Quot servi, tot hostes*," when applied to the owner of a long retinue of slaves? In the course of time the numbers of the domestic colony increase so much, that it becomes necessary to employ them in other than household duties; so that, in one of the great houses of the Havana, you may generally find a tailor and a shoemaker, and

perhaps a mantua-maker or a milliner, attached to the establishment. When in the course of years the number of the domestic slaves has increased beyond all bounds, the surplus are allowed to hire themselves out as tradesmen or household servants, on the condition of their bringing home to their owner a fixed sum weekly or monthly from the amount of their earnings; and in justice to the slave-masters of the Havana, it is but fair to add that the exaction thus made is, in general, not so exorbitant but that a prudent and industrious slave might be able in a few years from his surplus earnings to purchase his entire emancipation from bondage, step by step, according to the gradual system prescribed by the Spanish colonial code.

When we get into the country and visit the coffee, and especially the sugar plantations, where I propose by and by to carry the reader, if he has the patience or the heart to accompany me through the revolting details, we shall see how very differently the unhappy field negro is treated. It is there we verify the words of the poet: —

"Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt."

In fact, the most dreadful of all threats with which one of the wealthy inhabitants of the Havana contrives to terrify a delinquent domestic from the errors to which he is prone, is to hint at the necessity of sending him to rusticate for a season, under the charge of the Mayoral, on his master's estate in the country.

In our own sugar colonies, during the prevalence

of slavery, there was the same tendency to an unreasonable increase of the planter's domestic establishment, but as "the great house" was probably situated within sight of the sugar mill, so that the master became acquainted with the persons and characters of his field negroes and their families, by daily observation and intercourse, it was not unusual to make exchanges from the house to the field, or *vice versâ*. These changes, although still a punishment sufficiently severe for the one party, had nothing so terrible in their aspect, as the banishment from a life of pampered luxury and ease in the Havana, to that worst of penal settlements, a Cuba sugar plantation. Under the tender mercies of the Mayoral, he knows well before leaving the Havana that he has nothing to expect in the plantation but a wretched existence of over labour and starvation, accompanied by the application, or at least the constant terror, of the lash as an incentive, relieved only by the hope of that dissolution, which sleepless nights and incessant toils are so speedily and so surely to accomplish.

The change from the apprenticeship to perfect freedom in the British colonies will not be immediately favourable to the supernumerary class of domestics, as the planter can never afford to pay wages to so many servants even in his own family, as he has heretofore been accustomed to allow to his overseer. I have seen, for instance, in the house of an English overseer, whose salary might not, perhaps, exceed some three hundred pounds sterling a year, a most disproportionate array of

attendants, butlers, footmen, grooms, stable boys, cooks, housemaids, and washerwomen, amounting altogether to, perhaps, twenty in number, yet not equal, after all, to the third of a great Havana establishment. The state of things in the British colonies to which we have referred, must now of course be altered, and the overseer must be content with an addition to his salary to compensate him for the defalcation in his household arrangements.

To those who are not wilfully blindfold, there are not wanting even at the Havana, not to speak of the sugar or even of the coffee plantations, a thousand palpable indications of the misery which attends the curse of slavery, independent altogether of the superior horrors of the Slave Trade.

On the public Alameda, just outside the gates of the fortified portion of the city, and therefore within the limits of a dense population, there may be seen a modest looking building protected from public gaze by lofty wooden parapets, in the interior of which are a series of whipping posts, to which unwilling or disobedient slaves are sent to receive their allotted quota of punishment, as a saving of time or labour, or perhaps to spare the too tender feelings of their masters or mistresses. But, although by means of the parapets, the authorities have succeeded in shutting out the inquisitive glances of the passers by, excluding from public view the streaming blood and lacerated flesh of the sufferers, they have totally failed in shutting in their piercing screams and piteous shrieks for mercy.

Those visitors at the Havana who are accustomed to speak in terms of inconsiderate satisfaction of the comforts and indulgences of the slaves, sometimes sneeringly comparing them with the privations to which an English or an Irish labourer is exposed, have probably never heard of those family arrangements by which the spirit of a slave, who has first been spoiled by over indulgence, is to be systematically and periodically broken. The mistress of many a great family in the Havana will not scruple to tell you that such is the proneness of her people to vice and idleness, she finds it necessary to send one or more of them once a month to the whipping post, not so much on account of any positive delinquency, as because without these periodical advertisements the whole family would become unmanageable, and the master and mistress would lose their authority.

The administration of Captain-General Tacon has been at once more praised and more censured than that of any of his predecessors. The vigorous system of police he created, and the public works he promoted, are the chief subjects of commendation; the extreme tyranny of his government towards the Creole portion of the community the great source of complaint. For many years before his arrival, and particularly during the administration of Ricafort, his immediate predecessor, the streets of the Havana were not safe from the robber and the assassin, either by night or by day. The same vigour which so promptly cleared the streets of malefactors was applied in restraining the

slightest expression of political sentiment. It is asserted, that not less than 200 individuals, some of them distinguished for their literary attainments, and almost all belonging to the respectable classes of society, were sent out of the island without any form of trial whatever. A considerable number left in prison by Tacon at the time of his removal, were immediately set at liberty on the accession of Espeleta to the government; and to this day it is strenuously asserted, that nothing in the nature of a conspiracy against the government had ever existed, nor any thing beyond the well known private conviction of the Creole inhabitants, that the taxes levied and the government imposed on them were a serious grievance.

Of the public works which remain to commemorate the activity of Tacon's administration, the new prison, erected outside the walls near the fortress of the *Punta*, is by far the most important, although its founder did not remain long enough in the government to witness its completion. It was far from being finished at the period of my leaving the island in the beginning of 1839, and yet it already contained upwards of a thousand prisoners. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, 240 feet in front, by 300 feet deep, the eastern front containing to the left the dwelling-house of the Alcalde, and on the right the Cuerpo de Guardia. The interior is so arranged as to effect a complete separation between the white prisoners and the people of colour, the dormitories for the coloured prisoners being placed on the left of

the entrance, and those for the whites on the right. The superficial space allowed in the dormitories, which are of great extent, is two square yards and a half for each prisoner. During my stay in the Havana, the habitable portion of the building was constantly full, so that it became necessary to send the surplus to the fortress of the Cabanas on the other side of the bay.

So far as I could observe, there was no attempt at a classification of prisoners, beyond the mere division of the sexes, and the separation of colours. There are indeed rooms called *Las salas de distincion*, into which those prisoners are allowed to enter indiscriminately who can afford to pay for the accommodation, whether debtors, convicts, or accused; and it was asserted — with what truth I had not the means of ascertaining — that white prisoners of all classes were made to pay a daily fee of a small amount for the privilege of not being locked up in the gallery appropriated to people of colour.

The internal police is probably not so strict as it was during Tacon's administration; for in passing the strongly barred gate of the negro gallery, I expressed to the officer who accompanied me a wish to enter, as I observed the prisoners were at dinner. His answer was, that he could not think of it, as most certainly I should not come out alive, and he himself would be held responsible for my safety.

The better, I suppose, to reconcile me to the disappointment, he mentioned a circumstance which had occurred only the day before. A person from

the interior of the island on his way to the Havana to purchase a supply of slaves, had been attacked, robbed, and murdered, about ten miles from the city. He was attended by two of his domestic slaves, one of whom had made his escape, while the other had fallen with his master. On his report of the catastrophe, the survivor, for safe keeping merely, was sent to the Carcel, the better to secure his testimony against the hour of trial; but on the day preceding my visit, the witness was found dead in this negro gallery, having been murdered by some of his fellow prisoners, who were supposed to have been bribed with the fruits of the original crime, for the purpose of destroying the evidence, and securing impunity to the criminals.

In the time of Tacon, such an offence could scarcely have occurred, and, if it had, would certainly have been followed by an immediate and most searching investigation.

The upper part of the building is to be fitted up as a barrack for the accommodation of troops of the line, and as it consists of but two stories, the prisoners are all to be lodged on the *rez de chaussée.*

Next to the prison, which Tacon's system of coercion had rendered indispensable, the new *paseo,* which serves to connect the suburban palace of the Captain-General with the city, is the public work for which his admirers have praised him the most. It is certainly an ornament to the city, and a source of recreation to such of the inhabitants as can afford to ride in carriages; but it is evidently not designed for the convenience of the humble pedestrian, who,

from the absence of footpaths, or other means of protection, is in constant danger of being crushed to death between some furiously driven *volante* and the wall. Such slight indications are often sufficient to tell the spirit with which the affairs of a country are administered, —like the gibbet, which informed the shipwrecked mariner that he had been thrown on a civilised coast. Although inscribed with the name of the Paseo Tacon, it bears in the official reports that of the Camino Militar, in order to justify the Captain-General in the employment of troops and convicts in its construction; nor did he hesitate to inflict a serious and uncompensated injury on the humble inhabitants of the street, called the Calzada de San Luis Gonzaga, through which it has been made to pass. As the street happened to be a wide one, traversing a sort of valley, the Paseo has been formed in the middle of it, on a mound of earth, flanked on either side by retaining walls, with arches underneath, from distance to distance, to keep up the communications of the cross streets, which would otherwise have been interrupted. A narrow longitudinal section of the original street has been left on each side of the paseo, to allow the inhabitants access to their houses, but in other respects their rights have been usurped and their interests neglected for the benefit of the privileged few. In Paris, the revolution of 1830, which gave rights to the middle classes, and, to a certain extent, corresponding advantages to the humblest citizen, was the signal for the introduction of a system the very opposite

of that which now prevails at the Havana, as the formation of the *trottoirs*, the lighting of the streets, and the lowering of the boulevards, sufficiently testify.

Adjoining the Paseo, General Tacon constructed a sort of Champ de Mars for exercising the troops, to which he gave the name of El Campo Militar, the whole surrounded by a dwarf wall, and an ornamental railing. On each side there is a magnificent gateway; that on the west is called La Puerta de Colon; on the north, Puerta de Cortes; on the south, Puerta de Pizarro; and on the east, facing the gate of the city, Puerta de Tacon. This last inscription is spoken of among the Creoles as a piece of unpardonable presumption.

As if to throw ridicule on the grave denials of all knowledge of the slave trade, which are forced from successive captains-general by the unwearied denunciations of the British authorities, two extensive depôts for the reception and sale of newly imported Africans have lately been erected at the further end of the Paseo, just under the windows of his Excellency's residence, the one capable of containing 1000, the other 1500, negroes; and I may add, that these were constantly full during the greater part of the time that I remained at the Havana. As the *barracoon*, or depôt, serves the purpose of a market place as well as a prison, these two have, doubtless for the sake of readier access, and to save the expense of advertising in the journals, been placed at the point of greatest attraction, where the Paseo ends, where the

grounds of the Captain-General begin, and where passes the new railroad into the interior, from the carriages on which, the passengers are horrified at the unearthly shouts of the thoughtless inmates; who, in their eagerness and astonishment at the passing train, push their arms and legs through the bars of their windows with the cries, the grimace, and gesticulation, which might be expected from a horde of savages, placed in circumstances, to them, so totally new and extraordinary.

These barracoons appear to be considered by the foreign residents as the lions of the place. On the arrival of strangers, they are carried there as to a sight which could not well be seen elsewhere. A barracoon was one of the first objects the Prince de Joinville was taken to see on his first visit to the Havana. It was remarked that His Royal Highness was much more popular among the Spaniards, on the occasion of this first visit, than on his return from Mexico, after the capture of San Juan de Ulloa, and the attack on Vera Cruz.

On entering one of the barracoons, which are, of course, as accessible as any other market place, you do not find so much immediate misery as an unreflecting visitor might expect. It is the policy of the importer to restore as soon as possible, among the survivors, the strength that has been wasted and the health that has been lost during the horrors of the middle passage. It is his interest, also, to keep up the spirits of his victims, that they may the sooner become marketable, and prevent

their sinking under that fatal home-sickness, which carries off so many during the first months of their captivity. With this view, during their stay in the barracoon, they are well fed, sufficiently clothed, very tolerably lodged; they are even allowed the luxury of tobacco, and are encouraged to amuse themselves for the sake of exercise and health, in the spacious *patio*, or inner court, of the building. I have been assured, also, that after leaving the barracoon, and arriving at the scene of their future toils, the Mayoral finds it for the interest of his master to treat them, for several months, with a considerable degree of lenity, scarcely allowing them, if possible, to hear the crack of the whip, and breaking them in by slow degrees to the hours and the weight of labour, which are destined to break them down long before the period which nature prescribes.

The inmates of these sad receptacles, from their age, demeanour, and appearance, convey to the visitor a lively idea of the well organised system of kidnapping, to which the trade has been reduced, in order to make provision in the interior of Africa for the supply of the factories, and slave markets on the coast. The well understood difficulty of breaking in men and women of mature age to the labours of the field has produced a demand at the barracoons for younger victims, so that it is not, as formerly, by going to war, but by the meaner crimes of kidnapping and theft, and the still baser relaxation of social ties and family relations, that these human bazaars are supplied. The range of

years in the age of the captives appears to extend from twelve to eighteen, and as the demand for males is much greater than for females, the proportion between the sexes is nearly three to one, I had almost said, *in favour* of the masculine gender. In fact, this is pretty nearly the relative proportion between the sexes on most of the estates throughout the island. The facilities still left for the practice of the slave trade, and the consequent cheapness of young Bozals at the barracoons, make it more for the interest of the planter to keep up the numbers of his gang by purchase than by procreation. There are some so totally regardless of every human sentiment, save the sordid sense of their own pecuniary interests, that they people their estates with one sex only, to the total exclusion of females, taking care to prevent the nocturnal wanderings of the men, by locking them up in their plantation prisons, called also barracoons, as soon as their daily labour is concluded.

Another motive for the continuance of the slave trade is to be found in the well-known fact, that a state of hopeless servitude has the effect of enervating the slave, and reducing the physical power of his descendants far below the average of his African ancestors. At Demerara, Honduras, and Trinidad, to which colonies the greater part of the captives emancipated by the courts of mixed commission within the last few years, have ultimately found their way, I was assured that the labour of eight emancipated Africans was considered equal to that of twelve of the apprenticed labourers born

in the colony; and on the same principle, a Bozal African, fresh from one of the market places of the Havana, commands an average price of twenty-four ounces of gold when sold by retail; whereas a Creole of similar age is not worth more than twenty. On this ground, the keeper of one of these market barracoons with whom I chanced to enter into conversation on the subject of his trade, concluded an argument in favour of its perpetuity, by laying it down as a proposition not less capable of mathematical demonstration than any of the problems of Euclid, that the difference of four ounces between the value of the Creole and the Bozal made the suppression of the traffic a matter of hopeless, irremediable, and perpetual impossibility!

As applied to negroes, the terms Creole and Bozal are pretty nearly antithetical. It is true that when a horse is spoken of, the phrase *un caballo Bozal* means merely that he has not been sufficiently broken in; but it is otherwise with the poor African, who is spoken of as a *Bozal* long after he has lost all his natural spirit. The term *Criollo*, or Creole, is applied in Cuba, as in the other islands of the West Indies, not to men and women merely, white, black, or brown, but to domestic animals in general, and even to plants and trees, natives of the soil.

As soon as the period of seasoning and probation has elapsed, the unhappy slave is made to feel all the horrors of his condition. In Cuba and Porto Rico, and probably also in the Brazils, that condition is unspeakably aggravated by the fact, that simple slavery exists in these countries in connec-

tion with the slave trade. There the planters find it more for their interest to import fresh slaves from Africa, than to maintain or increase their numbers in the ordinary course of nature, according to the system so successfully practised in the Carolinas and Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland. The severity of the penal enactments of the United States against importation, has given rise to the domestic slave trade of America, some of the features of which are nearly as disgusting, although not so murderous, as the regular African traffic.

When I was at the Havana, the average price of Bozal negroes, when purchased at wholesale by the cargo, was at the rate of from 300 to 320 dollars a head, whereas I have had the misfortune to witness the sale of slaves by auction, when three times the price has been offered in the public streets of Richmond, Virginia, and elsewhere in that section of the Union. This practice of selling men and women by auction in the public streets, and the indecent personal examination to which it gives rise, surpasses in shamelessness all the atrocities of the Havana, where the sales are made within doors, and are comparatively private.

The purchasers at these slave auctions are mere dealers or traders who are only not pirates under the American law, because their transactions are completed on shore. In all other respects they resemble the Portuguese slaver, who buys his cargo on the coast of Africa and sells it in the best market he can find. The planters in Louisiana, and along the banks of the Mississippi are pretty much

on a par with those of Cuba and the Brazils; with this difference, that as the prime cost is greater compared with the food and maintenance of the slave, they cannot afford to work him to death in so short a time. As to the men of Maryland and Virginia, who push the *auri sacra fames* so far as to raise negroes like other stock for the market, we must go to the interior of Africa to find their parallel.

The people of the United States content themselves with an endeavour to protect their own shores from pollution, by declaring that their citizens expose themselves to the pains of piracy by engaging in the African slave trade. Among their own citizens, however, it is a matter of serious doubt whether this extreme penalty is attended with all the efficacy which it must have been the intention of its authors to produce. It is said that a difference of sixty-eight dollars a head, between the value of the native negro and the imported African, is sufficient at the Havana to determine the perpetual continuance of the slave trade, in the face of risks very little inferior to those arising from the operation of a law, highly penal, indeed, but not very sternly administered. It is not easy to believe that the settlers along the shores of Florida, Alabama, or Louisiana, who daily purchase men, women, and children, just torn from the ties of kindred and the bosom of their families, should feel any very serious qualms of conscience at an acquisition which was to entail no greater misery on the sufferers, and which was moreover to obtain for

the acquirer a saving not of 68, but of ten times, nay, of fifteen times 68 dollars a head. I do not mean to assert, with anything like confidence, that the African slave trade is actually carried on in the rivers or on the shores of the United States; but this I will say, that the temptation is strong; that the risk is not great; and that from the acknowledged practice of the country, any moral consideration sufficiently powerful to prevent it is wholly out of the question.

CHAP. IV.

ARRIVAL OF STRANGERS. — FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR. — BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE RECEIVING SHIPS.—RECEIVING SHIPS FOR LIBERATED AFRICANS.—MORAL EFFECTS OF THEIR PRESENCE.—CONDITION OF THE EMANCIPADOS.—CONCERT AMONG BRITISH FUNCTIONARIES ABROAD. — BRAZILIAN JUDGE AT SIERRA LEONE. — THE CRUISERS' LIABILITY. — CODE OF INSTRUCTIONS FOR CRUISERS. — COMPARATIVE RATES OF PREMIUM. — DEFICIENCY OF CRUISERS. — WAR CONTRIBUTION.

THE ordinary form of security required from strangers landing in the island, is to the following effect: — "I am responsible and become bound in every case for the person and conduct of Mr. A. B., arrived from C. in the ship D., binding myself to present him if called on by the government, and to conduct him at my expense to any place that may be pointed out." As it is thought to be desirable, however, to encourage white people of all classes, and especially manufacturers and mechanics, to settle on the island, the nature of the security offered is never severely scrutinised. Even the proof required by law, that the person applying for a letter of domicile possesses a respectable character, and professes the Roman Catholic religion, is very easily evaded; a simple declaration, as to which no questions are asked, being generally accepted as a substitute for mere formal evidence of the purity of the stranger's habits and the orthodoxy of his faith.

To the establishment of white foreigners in the island in any mercantile capacity, there is no legal obstacle whatever. With regard to them, the law is the same at the Havana as it would be at Cadiz or Barcelona. Such as have been legally naturalised, according to the forms prescribed by the laws of Spain, enjoy the same rights and are subject to the same obligations as the natives of the country. Even without the political privileges conferred by the forms of naturalisation, and without applying for a legal domicile, a foreigner may carry on business as a merchant in the island of Cuba just as freely as in the territory of the mother country, under the regulations recognised in the existing treaties between the Spanish government and that of the country to which the stranger belongs. Should no such conventional regulations exist, the foreign merchant will still be entitled to the same practical privileges as those which are actually enjoyed by Spaniards under the government to which the foreign merchant owes allegiance. This principle of reciprocity has never been enforced to the prejudice of any foreigner; and, in point of fact, no inquiries are ever made as to the privileges enjoyed by Spanish merchants abroad.

Following the example of the slave-holding states of the North American Union, the authorities of Cuba and Porto Rico have been in the habit of committing to prison any unfortunate person who should arrive in the island, pretending to freedom, who, whatever his complexion, has the misfortune

to be suspected, no matter how remotely, of an African descent. It is this practice of the United States which has induced the government of St. Domingo, in the tariff promulgated at the time of my visit to that island, to impose discriminating duties on American importations; and it would not at all surprise me to find the Haytian government retaliating still more severely on the people of the United States, by committing American citizens to prison, arriving in the island, simply because they were white. I have not heard that any remonstrance has yet been addressed to the United States by the English government on the subject; although instances are not wanting where British subjects have been thus maltreated, as the lieutenant-governor of St. Vincent could testify. A white gentleman of that island had occasion not long ago to pay a visit to South Carolina; but to his great surprise and annoyance, on his arrival at Charleston, his coloured servant was arrested and thrown into prison for no other reason but that he was free, and not white. One of the last acts of Lord Clarendon, before leaving Madrid, was to address a strong remonstrance to the Spanish government against the practice complained of, making a powerful appeal, not only to the Spanish minister's sense of humanity, but to that consideration which is due to the free and industrious subjects of a friendly power; and he asks whether it can be necessary, that men, who, in their own country, enjoy every privilege to which their fellow-citizens are entitled, should, on their reaching the shores of Cuba, or Porto Rico, be so

treated as if they brought with them some physical or moral pestilence. His lordship adds, that it had become more especially incumbent on the British government to make this application, now that slavery has been abolished in the British colonies, because it might be expected that many free negroes as well as free men of colour would be employed in navigating vessels trading from island to island in the West Indies; and thus the practice complained of would every day become more and more vexatious to British commerce.

By a royal order of the 12th of March, 1837, all free persons of colour are prohibited from landing "under the shadow of any pretext whatever;" and so rigidly was this order enforced for some time after its promulgation, that free coloured seamen, on their arrival, were immediately taken out of the ship in which they came, and detained in prison till the period of her departure, when they were again put on board, and compelled to leave the island. Although conceived in general terms, the true object of this royal order, which originated with the late Captain-General Tacon, is supposed to have been to afford a pretext for preventing the negro soldiers on board the British receiving ship, Romney, from landing on the island for the purpose of recreation and necessary exercise. It has given rise to a great deal of discussion and correspondence between the British commissioners and the Captain-General Espeleta, who seems more disposed than his predecessor to relax the extreme rigour of the regulation.

In the mean time, the effect of the new regulation has been to discourage the trade of the island, particularly with the United States, in whose vessels there is often a considerable number of free coloured seamen. In the southern ports of the North American Union, we have seen that regulations of a similar nature are rigidly enforced; so that the grievances of the Haytians in America are, in some degree, redressed at the Havana. The entire crew of a Haytian vessel, which had the misfortune to be stranded not long ago on the coast of South Carolina, were thrown into the prison of Charleston, and were kept in close custody until the vessel was refitted and made ready for sea. This fact, combined with the inhospitable reception which the son of the prime minister, Inginac, met with a year or two ago at New York, has had the effect of inspiring the people of St. Domingo with the strongest feelings of animosity against the citizens of the United States, as well as against the government.

I observe by the printed returns, that, for the first time since the revolution in St. Domingo, a vessel from that island has been regularly entered at the Custom House of the Havana. The captain, officers, and crew must, in all probability, have been of African descent; but whether any of them were suffered to land, I had not the means of ascertaining. Under the mild administration of Captain-General Espeleta, their imprisonment was, of course, entirely out of the question.

At the period of my visit to the Havana, the detachment of black troops on board the Romney,

belonging to one of our West India regiments, had never once been allowed to set foot on shore, in consequence of an order which had been issued from the seat of government during Tacon's administration. His successor, Espeleta, declared, in answer to the application of the commissioners for some indulgence to the troops, that he had no power to grant it without the special consent of the Peninsular government, because Tacon had taken the precaution of transmitting the order he had issued to Madrid for approval. This trifling affair led, therefore, to a negotiation conducted with all the dilatory forms of Spanish diplomacy. By dint of great perseverance, however, the object has at length been accomplished; and before my departure from the Havana, the fact was communicated to the prisoners on board the Romney, that they would be suffered, under a variety of forms and restrictions, to take occasional exercise on shore. Some further formalities had still to be observed in the office of the Captain-General before this poor boon could be practically extended to them; so that I had not the satisfaction of witnessing their first gambols on shore. It is not impossible that they may be tempted, from mere *gaieté de cœur*, to commit some prank which will be too eagerly misconstrued, so as to lead to the suppression or curtailment of this new-born privilege.

It is rather extraordinary that, at the very time when her Majesty's government were preparing to send out a hulk to the harbour of Rio de

Janeiro, for the purpose of receiving the Africans who might be emancipated by the judgments of the British and Brazilian mixed commission, the British Commissary Judge at the Havana should be proposing to his government the removal of the receiving ship, which had for some time been stationed in that harbour for a similar purpose. It is no doubt true that, in consequence of the transfer of the trade to the flag of Portugal, the Romney has not been the means of protecting a great number of Emancipados from a condition which has been shown to be far worse than slavery; but if this were a good argument for the removal of the ship, it would go further in its operation than the Commissary Judge intended, since it would prove that the court itself had nothing to do, that its doors might be closed without inconvenience, and that the whole establishment — judge, arbitrator, superintendent, and clerk — might come home as passengers in the Romney.

The moral effect of the presence of so remarkable an object in the harbour ought not to be overlooked, in estimating the cost which it necessarily occasions. It operates as a standing protest, not only against the trade itself, but against the violation, on the part of the constituted authorities, of the treaties known to be in force for its suppression. Unhappily, this effect is seriously injured by a want of that perfect cordiality, and strict unity of purpose, which ought to prevail among the whole of the British functionaries who have thus been stationed in the focus of the traffic, to bring about its

annihilation. If we may judge from the printed correspondence, the same want of harmony which has been noticed at the Havana prevails also at Rio de Janeiro.

If a receiving ship should be sent out to that harbour, it would seem to infer the necessity of a superintendent of liberated Africans; and if the person appointed to that office should happily entertain the same decided views on the subject of slavery which have been constantly and consistently acted upon by the superintendent at the Havana, it will not be possible for him to countenance the course of conduct which seems to be pursued by the British commissioners at Rio. If I read the printed correspondence correctly, these gentlemen seem both to admit the substantial truth of the accusation brought against them, that their domestic establishments are more or less composed of the Africans who have been emancipated by the decrees judicially pronounced by themselves or their predecessors. Sir George Jackson, while he admits the fact, in writing to Lord Palmerston, defends himself on the ground that the Africans in question would have had a worse chance of humane treatment, had he refused to receive them. This statement, of course, is not to be doubted; but Sir George ought to have considered, while making it, that in this uncharitable world the purity of his motives were liable to suspicion, and that his slave-trading neighbours might believe, or pretend to believe, that the real object of the British Commissary Judge was, like that of other

slave-holders, to avoid the payment of a reasonable or sufficient consideration for the services obtained, in the shape of wages.

It has elsewhere been shown, that the condition of the Emancipados at the Havana is worse than ordinary slavery, because the term of their apprenticeship is for seven years only, and because the parties to whom they are bound have therefore no interest in their existence after the period for which their services have been purchased. Independent of the notoriety of the fact, it is frankly admitted by the very persons to whom the poor Emancipados have been assigned. The Director of the *Casa de Beneficencia*, whose revenues are partly derived from an assignment of this kind, was good enough to enter into a great many details, to prove the fact, of which I had already been sufficiently convinced. The wages they earn are not paid to them any more than if they were slaves, but belong to the purchaser or other acquirer, as a matter of course.

The term of apprenticeship, which appears to be sanctioned by the Brazilian authorities, is stated to be fourteen years instead of seven; and I have no doubt that, during the early portion of that long period, the Africans who are said to have been liberated will, for that very reason, find themselves in a better situation than their brethren in Cuba; but, as the term approaches, — not of freedom, but of transfer to another master, — their condition will probably be the same at Rio which it notoriously has been at the Havana, — the poor wretches

will be worked to death, and their services for the second cycle will not be worth the purchase.

When the Brazilians at Rio or the Spaniards at the Havana see the British functionaries disagreeing among themselves, on the very principles they are sent there to enforce; when they see one of these English gentlemen purchasing slaves, a second hiring them, a third obtaining the services of the liberated African, without paying either a fair price or adequate wages, and a fourth resisting the temptation, and refusing, on any terms, to admit a bondsman within his walls;—these gentlemen, the regular slave-holders, are but too apt to conclude that the opinions of the people of England are also divided, and that their practice would be equally so, had they the same opportunity. In the minds of many of our countrymen enjoying such official appointments in slave-holding countries, there is a strong tendency to associate with the natives, from the want of a becoming cordiality among themselves. From the first false step, they come insensibly to forget how strongly the mind of the English people is made up on the subject of slavery; they learn to evade the known wishes of their government; and, adopting, more or less, that sort of public opinion which exists among their new associates, they come by degrees to adopt the habits as well as the opinions of their neighbours.

Without waiting till such habits and practices are denounced to the government,—a circumstance which cannot be expected, except in cases of a very flagrant nature, from the reluctance which is

naturally felt to become an informer, — I humbly submit that it ought to be a positive instruction to every British functionary appointed to reside in those countries where slavery is tolerated, that henceforth they could not be permitted to countenance the practice in any shape or degree in their own domestic establishments. Nay, more, the personal opinions of those gentlemen, on the subject of slavery, who are to be sent to such destinations, ought to be strictly scrutinised and clearly ascertained before they receive their appointments. It is to be feared that the principle of patronage disavowed by the Whigs on their first accession to power, has become so practically necessary as to forbid the hope of such a scrutiny being very rigorously entered upon.

The deportment of the British Commissary Judge at Sierra Leone, Mr. Macaulay, towards one of the Brazilian commissioners, Señor Gomes, affords an agreeable illustration of what is becoming in a British functionary, when placed in social as well as official relations with gentlemen who do not entertain the same sentiments with himself. Señor Gomes having sailed from Rio in one of the slave ships, had himself landed in the neighbourhood of the British settlement; and from the moment of his arrival, he was seen to associate with the captains and supercargoes of slave-vessels. On several occasions, when Mr. Macaulay called at the house of his Brazilian colleague, he found himself in the company of persons notoriously engaged in the slave trade; perhaps the masters of vessels

condemned for slave trading a short time before. Instead of taking the course which would have been allowable, had there been no official relations between them, simply avoiding the society of Mr. Gomes and cutting his acquaintance, Mr. Macaulay thought it better, in a friendly note, to tell him frankly his reason for not continuing his visits. To this note Señor Gomes returned an angry answer, and a few days afterwards embarked for England. The British commissioners could not withhold the fact from Lord Palmerston, who caused it to be represented to the Brazilian government, and Señor Gomes was forthwith dismissed from the office to which he had been so unworthily appointed.

When the commanders of cruisers have not been guilty of any impropriety, they can, of course, have nothing to fear from the fact, that the prize they may have made has escaped condemnation. It would be most unjust to make them liable for a mere error of judgment on points where gentlemen learned in the law, and judging after the event, are often found to disagree. It is, nevertheless, most desirable that they should be well informed on the nature of their duties and the extent of their powers; and it humbly appears to me that a code of instructions should be drawn up, and printed expressly for their use.

Had such a code of instructions existed during the last ten or twelve years, a numerous class of vessels engaged in the slave trade would have been exposed to at least double the risk they have hitherto incurred; and it is impossible to form an

idea of the number of cases where commanders of cruisers have been deterred, by the fear of damages, from the detention of vessels which were legally subject to condemnation.

On the 9th of October, 1838, her Majesty's ship Herald, Captain Joseph Nias, fell in with the Brazilian brigantine Feliz Aurora, of 166 tons, J. Caetano, master and owner, on her outward voyage from Rio de Janeiro to the coast of Africa; and on being boarded, she was found to be completely equipped as a slaver, with large brick-built coppers, large water casks, and separate boxes on deck for the captives. Her log-book was regularly written up from the day of her leaving Rio, where she had, no doubt, been equipped. Captain Nias was evidently labouring under the impression, in common with many of his brother officers, that he could not lawfully capture a Brazilian vessel on a charge of slave trading, unless she had absolutely her cargo on board. He took the precaution, however, to circulate an extract from his boarding book, a copy of which having found its way to the hands of Mr. Ouseley, the British minister at Rio, he lost no time in communicating it to her Majesty's commissioners, who, in answer, expressed their regret that the Feliz Aurora had not been detained, as, in their opinion, she was liable to condemnation under the treaty of 1826, on the mere proof of equipment.

It is scarcely possible to believe that so important a condition of an existing treaty should have thus remained, for nearly thirteen years, in

abeyance. But here is the fact staring us broad in the face: It was only after the British commissioners had communicated this opinion to Mr. Ouseley, on the 12th of January, 1839, that Commodore Sullivan, the commander-in-chief of her Majesty's naval forces on the Brazilian station, was made aware of the fact, that seizures of Brazilian vessels, on the ground of equipment alone, could be legally effected.

On this last point, the British commissioners at Rio write to Lord Palmerston on the 22d of January, 1839, that the greater part of the vessels daily leaving that coast for Africa would be liable to condemnation, because, under the treaty of 1826, the presence of slaves on board, at the period of the capture, is not necessary to condemnation. "The misfortune is, that we have so few cruisers employed in this service, and that when a vessel is taken, from the impunity with which the trade is carried on, the case is considered and denounced as one of individual hardship; a cry in which the commercial community, with scarce an exception, is ready to join." The tone of this complaint is not exactly what is desirable in a British commissioner; but it serves to explain why vessels can be insured at Rio, for thirteen per cent., leaving a profit to the underwriters, while, with premiums of thirty-five and forty per cent., the two insurance companies at the Havana have been compelled, by the fear of loss, to abandon that branch of their business.

The deficiency of cruisers on the Brazilian

coast, and the want of correct information as to the extent of their powers, sufficiently account for the alarming amount of importation into the single harbour of Rio, in the year 1838. According to Mr. Ouseley's statement to Lord Palmerston, it amounted to no less than 36,974 slaves, and would have been still greater but for the fact that several of the traders had ordered their vessels to discharge their cargoes at other ports of the empire, where also it has become customary to have them fitted out.

The system pursued at Rio seems, in many respects, to correspond with what I have witnessed at the Havana. The receptacles for the Bozal negroes, which serve the double purpose of warehousing and exposing the human cargo to sale, are open in both places to public inspection, although perhaps not so closely under the windows of the imperial palace at Rio as they are under those of the Captain-General's residence at the Havana. Mr. Ouseley states that no less than 6000 Africans have been exposed for sale at one time in the barracoons at Rio; but probably not more than half that number have ever appeared together in those of the Havana. The Brazilian authorities, like those of Cuba, have a direct pecuniary interest in promoting the traffic, by the existence of a sort of capitation tax on the imports, which is divided among the officers of the government.

The pacification of the Peninsula has taken place at a time when it is not yet too late to maintain for some years longer the connection of this import-

ant colony with the mother country. The taxes imposed, under the name of a war contribution, amounting to $2,500,000, had already provoked the most serious discontents; and if the necessities of the mother country had led to a demand for its renewal, the curses of the Creoles, not loud but deep, would, in all probability, have given open expression to the latent, but long-cherished, desire of independence.

The Hacendados of Cuba are made to feel very sensibly the rivalship of other producers in the markets to which their sugar, their coffee, and their tobacco are exported. The sugar of New Orleans, the Brazils, and the Danish islands, the coffee of St. Domingo, La Guaira, Java, the Brazils, and Mocha, and the tobacco of Kentucky, and St. Domingo meet them in the markets of New York and Philadelphia, and similar produce from a still greater variety of sources in those of St. Petersburg. The Governments of these, and other countries having no care of their prosperity, impose such duties as are found most convenient for their own citizens, or most suitable to the state of their own finances.

The sudden abstraction of a large amount of capital must, under any circumstances, be a subject of serious consideration, but more especially so in a country, where the ordinary rate of interest is 12 per cent. per annum, and where it sometimes reaches, if we may believe the report of the junta assembled at the Havana, under the presidency of the Captain-General, to provide for this extraor-

dinary subsidy, to no less than 18, 24, and even 30 per cent. These rates of interest infer a great scarcity of capital, which, from the bad system of husbandry pursued in the island, has a tendency to increase rather than diminish.

To apply manure to the soil, or to follow a rational alternation, or rotation of crops, is very rarely thought of. The richest virgin soil, under such a system, cannot fail to be worked out, and exhausted, by the constant return, year after year, of so scourging a crop as the sugar cane. The annual diminution of the produce on a given quantity of land, proceeds in a ratio, the rapidity of which is perfectly understood by the intelligent planters of Barbadoes or St. Vincent, Santa Cruz or Martiniquè.

In Cuba, on the contrary, such a calculation is seldom thought of. Ratoons after ratoons are raised and cut down, until their value has approached so nearly to zero, that it is no longer the interest of the proprietor to prosecute this branch of industry. If there happen to be other land on his plantation still in a state of nature, he causes it to be cleared and planted with canes, at the immediate charge of moving the sugar mill, or the constantly recurring expense of carrying the sugar canes from a greater distance than before. The introduction of coffee cultivation was in this sense a God-send to the sugar planter of former times. The land, long exhausted by incessant crops of sugar cane, and fit for nothing but the feeding of cattle, became in the hands of the French emi-

grants from St. Domingo a new source of wealth and prosperity. The coffee tree thrived where the cane could no longer raise its head, and thus became the means of saving the proprietor of the soil from ruin.

In requiring the payment of the war contribution, the Peninsular government had the discretion not to fix on any specific term for its liquidation; but contented itself with making draughts from time to time on the Intendant, some of which, if we may believe the newspapers, and the reported debates in the Cortes, have been occasionally sold, at a very great sacrifice, in the money markets of London and Madrid. Thus the cash which is drawn from the pockets of the planter does not all reach the Peninsular treasury; and when the bills of the minister of finance are presented for payment, it often happens that the Intendant is not possessed of funds sufficient for their liquidation. In that case, a second loss is sustained, the holders of the bills being entitled to demand the exorbitant rate of interest which the law and practice of the island have sanctioned, for submitting to a delay rendered necessary by the state of the colonial treasury.

The junta on the war contribution, finding the greatest difficulty in providing funds to meet the draughts of the Finance Minister, divided itself into sub-committees, who undertook to perambulate the city of the Havana, and collect subscriptions towards a loan for the relief of the Intendant; but the very limited success which attended

this proceeding made it necessary for the junta to make a more general call for assistance on those classes of the inhabitants who had the reputation of being in easy or opulent circumstances. This measure had the effect of producing the advance of rather more than $300,000, in the shape of a voluntary loan, on which interest was to be paid at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. It soon became evident, however, that the subscription was to go but a very short way towards meeting the existing exigency. It had been pushed to the utmost extremity, and the large sums required for the importation, or purchase of slaves, not only to meet the ordinary demand, occasioned by the never-failing defalcation on sugar estates, but to fill up the extraordinary chasm produced by the ravages of the cholera in the four successive years 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836, had exhausted the spare capital of the proprietors, and in many cases had so injured their credit, with the merchants, and slave dealers, as to subject them for a time to great pecuniary embarrassment.

If the mode of raising a temporary loan presented difficulties of so serious a nature, the junta was still more puzzled when they came to consider the ways and means by which this heavy contribution was to be definitively liquidated. A direct tax on the proprietors, according to the extent of their estates, the number of their slaves, or the amount of their produce, was the first proposal submitted to their consideration; but on a very slight examination it became evident that these data, how-

ever accurately obtained, could afford no just or equitable criterion by which to levy a tax either on property or income. A thousand considerations, such as the state of the roads, the local situation of the property, and the relative ease or difficulty of embarking the produce, were any one of them sufficient, independent altogether of the inquisitorial proceedings to which a direct tax would give rise, to deter the junta from recommending that mode of supply for the colonial treasury.

The American provinces of Spain have ever since their discovery been constantly regarded as integral portions of the ancient kingdom of Castile, in which there has never been any *catastro*, or, as the French call it, *cadastre*, like that which is well known to exist in the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, and the principality of Catalonia. This *catastro* consists of a minute periodical valuation of all the real property of the country, so arranged, that at any time it can conveniently be made the basis of a direct system of taxation. The mere attempt to establish a *catastro* would have been treated as an open breach of the privileges and *fueros* of the landed proprietors; would have inflamed the minds of the inhabitants at large; and would have led, in all probability, to a general conflagration. For such reasons as these the idea of direct taxation was prudently abandoned; and the junta finally resorted to an increase, and improved classification, of the custom-house duties on imports and exports for the means of raising the necessary supplies.

CHAP. V.

CIRCULATING MEDIUM.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—BANKRUPTCY RARE. — LAWS OF BANKRUPTCY. — JUDICIARY. — BANK OF FERDINAND VII. — TARIFF OF CUSTOMS. — ARTICLES FREE OF DUTY.—CROWN REVENUES.—EFFECT OF DIFFERENTIAL DUTIES. — PUBLIC WHARFS.

THE circulating medium of Cuba, like that of Old Spain, consists exclusively of the precious metals; so that in passing between the island and the neighbouring states of the North American Union the contrast is not a little striking, and is certainly all in favour of the hard dollar and the doubloon. The Spanish pillar dollar, and the dollars of Mexico and the new states of South America, are worth 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling, and are a legal tender at their numerical value. They are all occasionally at a premium, with a view to exportation; but the pillar dollar is more uniformly so, reaching, when the supply is greatly inferior to the demand, as high as 5 per cent. The *real de plata* being the eighth part of a dollar, is used with the four-real, the two-real, and the half-real piece for small payments; and they must be quite a relief to the North American visitor who has been accustomed to handle nothing in his own country in the shape of change, but the filthy rags to which

they have given the agreeable name of "shin plasters."

In the United States the traveller is constantly exposed to loss and inconvenience by the insolvency of banks; and without positive insolvency, by the discredit and the discount which attaches to their notes, and increases in the direct ratio of the distance they are carried from the place at which they have been issued.

The *onza de oro*, or Spanish doubloon, at the ordinary rate of exchange of $8\frac{4}{5}\frac{7}{7}$ per cent., is worth in sterling money 3*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, and is a legal tender in the island for 17 hard dollars. The subdivisions of the doubloon, the half, the quarter, the eighth, and the sixteenth are also in circulation, the sixteenth being worth a dollar and half a real. The Mexican, Colombian, and other South American doubloons are a legal tender for sixteen hard dollars, equal to 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling, and are sometimes in demand for exportation at a premium. Their subordinate divisions are worth eight, four, two, and one dollar respectively.

In 1837, the exports of gold and silver from the island in general, amounted to $2,114,298, or 422,860*l.*; and the imports to $1,582,965, or 316,793*l.* The exports, in the same year, from the Havana alone, amounted to $1,954,216, or 390,848*l.*; and the imports to $908,778, or about 181,755*l.*

Of the weights and measures in use in the island, the *arroba* is equal to $25\frac{7}{16}$ lbs. English, and the *quintal* of 100 lbs. Spanish to $101\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.

English. Of superficial measures, 108 Spanish *varas* are equal to 100 English yards; and of liquid measures the *arroba* is equal to $4\frac{1}{10}$ English Winchester gallons. The *fanega* of 200 lbs. Spanish is employed in the sale of grain, and is nearly equal to three Winchester bushels.

I was informed at the Havana that bankruptcies were exceedingly rare in the island, and that none of any note had occurred there for a great many years. The commercial crisis in the United States, in the years 1836 and 1837, had compelled several respectable establishments at the Havana to suspend their payments; but, by the indulgence of their creditors, they were all enabled to continue their business.

The laws of bankruptcy and the rules of ranking and preference among creditors are the same in Cuba as in the Peninsula; and if recourse to them were necessary, they would certainly be found more efficient, for accomplishing the fair distribution of the property of the debtor, and protecting the interests of the creditor, than anything practically known in the states of the North American Union, where, by making a mock assignment of his property to some favoured individual, a debtor, at the sacrifice of nothing but his reputation, may retain the substantial enjoyment of it, and laugh his creditors to scorn.

From what has been said, it will be understood that the rigorous laws of Spain against fraudulent bankrupts have very rarely been enforced in the island. When insolvency takes place, it is gene-

rally arranged, either by the execution of a voluntary trust deed or *cesion de bienes*, or by the *concurso voluntario y preventivo*, which is a measure resorted to by the creditors to interrupt and prevent the further dilapidation of the property, and secure its just distribution among themselves. The *cessio bonorum*, whether voluntary or involuntary on the part of the debtor, is called, in Spanish law, *desamparamiento*, and entitles the insolvent to protection from arrest, on finding security for the ultimate payment of his debts, at intervals, and by instalments to be fixed by the judge, provided the whole period does not exceed five years. The security required is, in fact, only nominal, being subject to the condition of the insolvent's arriving at better fortune; but, in the mean time, the distribution of his present property is secured.

The insolvent who, within six months before his bankruptcy, takes money or merchandise on credit, is regarded, in the eye of the law, as a fraudulent bankrupt, and becomes subject to the severe penalties of the *Alzados*. Under the rights conferred by the *desamparamiento*, the personal creditor may sue the debtor of his debtor, and the mortgagee may sue the obligant in any note or bond, on behalf of his debtor. This cession, however, does not include the property of the wife, which is not bound for the debts of her husband; nor is a married woman liable to arrest, in any case, to compel the performance of a mere civil obligation.

The heir at law of an insolvent is protected by

the Spanish law from many of the responsibilities which attach to him under most of the codes of modern Europe, having the civil law of ancient Rome for their foundation. Thus, although he should not have made any inventory of his insolvent ancestor's estate, and should, nevertheless, have entered into possession of it, he will not be bound to make satisfaction for any deficiency out of his own separate patrimony. Nor will the son of an insolvent who succeeds to the inheritance of his grandfather after the death of his father be liable to impart any portion of that inheritance to his father's creditors. Nevertheless, if the debtor himself should have assigned any part of his property to a favoured creditor, on the express condition that it should not enter into the *concurso*, or become liable to the ranking of the creditors in general, as a portion of the common fund for the liquidation of their debts, such condition shall not be available, as being inconsistent with that *bonâ fides* which a person who has contracted obligations is bound to observe towards all who have any legal claims upon him.

As to the ranking or preference of competing creditors, they are distributed, according to the ablest commentators on the laws of Spain, into four distinct and separate classes. The creditor, possessed of any written evidence of his debt, however informal, is preferred to all that class of competitors whose claims are founded on mere verbal contracts. The mortgagee, in his turn, who, by the necessary formalities, has acquired a

lien over some specific portion of his debtor's property, is preferred to the whole class of *quirografarios*, whose debts are proved, indeed, by written evidence, but who have not stipulated for such specific security at the dates when their debts were originally contracted.

The whole class of mortgagees, however, who have not realised their rights by entering into possession, are liable to be postponed to the creditor who has adopted more active and energetic measures, and has invested himself by the forms which the law prescribes with a direct and absolute dominion over the property forming the subject of such mortgages. This dominion is presumed in favour of the royal treasury, *el Fisco*; but such are the privileges of the *Dote*, or provision for the wife in her marriage settlements, that she is placed on the same footing with the fisc, taking precedence or suffering postponement according to priority, and, of course, *pro tanto*, disappointing the ordinary mortgage creditors. As to these last, in competing with each other, the chronological order of precedence is observed, according to the rule of the Roman law, *qui prior est tempore, potior est jure.* Supposing the instruments of equal date, the creditors are to be ranked *pari passu*, and paid *pro rata.* But if the consideration for the one mortgage be a former debt, and for the other a present payment, the latter, although posterior, will be preferred to the former. Suppose, again, that there are three mortgage creditors, the third is to be preferred to the second, if the money

advanced by him was employed in paying off the debt of the first, even without a formal assignment of the first preferable right.

The voluntary *cessio bonorum* has not the effect of protecting the debtor's subsequent acquisitions of property from judicial attachment at the suit of his former creditors; but after the compulsory proceeding by *concurso* all the previous debts are utterly extinguished. The interests of creditors under the *concurso* are protected from hasty or improvident sales of the debtor's property, by the provision, that after a sale is completed by adjudication, a higher offer from a new party is still open to acceptance.

The debtor after the *concurso* has, of course, no power of alienation, to the prejudice of his creditors; but if, while it is still pending, a succession should open to him, he may renounce the inheritance, because it is considered to be one thing to alienate, and another *not to acquire*. Releases or discharges, however, by a debtor under *concurso*, of debts due to him, to the prejudice of his creditors, are not valid. If creditors of a lower degree have been paid to the prejudice of those of a higher degree, the latter may call upon the former to refund the money. And if, in the issue of the *concurso*, the funds realised from the debtor's estate shall prove inadequate to the full payment of his debts, then the sales he may have made within the previous year, to the prejudice of prior creditors, may still be set aside.

The judges and other judicial functionaries of

the island, from the president of the supreme court of Puerto Principe to the alguazil and the door-keeper, are all paid by fees instead of salaries. The fee of the judge is determined by his rank, depending, however, in every case on the number and length of his sittings: an admirable contrivance for making justice not cheap and speedy, but as dear and dilatory as possible. The Jŭez Letrado, or judge learned in the law, is paid ten reals an hour for his attendance on any cause, besides four reals for his signature; and if required to leave the town where his court is held, he receives ten dollars for every day, or part of a day, he may be occupied. The fee of the Jŭez no Letrado is eight reals an hour, and if he goes out of town, six dollars a day, with four reals as before for his signature.

Judicial proceedings, it is known, are wholly conducted in writing; *vivâ voce* pleading, like the trial by jury, being totally unheard of. The lawyer also is paid according to the number of pages to which he can spin out his argument; and the assessor who reads the pleadings, and makes his report on them to the judge, is paid at the same rate with the *abogado*, or two reals per folio, which makes the fee of the assessor equal to the joint fees of the lawyers on both sides. For interlocutory judgments he receives four dollars; and for definitive judgments eight. The assessors are paid also for attendance at the same rate with the judges of the highest class.

The Jueces Pedaneos, or itinerant judges, are paid eight reals an hour, and four reals going as

well as returning, for every league they may travel. Witnesses, receive four reals an hour, and four reals a league; but if called upon to travel one entire league from their own homes, they must receive at least sixteen reals. The Alguazil Mayor, for superintending an execution against a debtor's effects, receives five per cent. for the first hundred dollars recovered, and two and a half per cent. for each subsequent hundred. For a caption, if within the town where he lives, three dollars. The Alguaziles Minores, who exercise their functions by commission without a royal *cedula*, are paid about a fourth part less. The Alcaide, or gaoler, is paid eight reals for the incarceration of a slave, and fourteen reals if not a slave, provided the party remain twenty-four hours in prison. Procuradores, or attorneys, for signing and presenting a paper prepared by an *abogado* are paid four reals; for attendance at court, the first hour eight reals, and every other four. Interpreters are paid at the rate of one dollar an hour, and two dollars for every page of writing. Peritos or professional persons are paid for any simple examination ten reals; but if of a higher class, the judge may increase the fee to twenty. Land surveyors receive nine dollars a day, besides four dollars for intervening *dias de fiesta*. The public crier for each judicial announcement receives two reals, besides a concluding fee of a dollar. The fees of the Escribanos and of the Notarios Eclesiasticos are too numerous and minute for specification. There is also an officer called the Anotador de Hypotecas, who is

paid in like manner by fees; and although slaves are not properly the subject of mortgage, it is said that these gentlemen very often contrive to make the unfortunate proprietor, who is obliged to borrow money on the security of his estate, pay a fee for every salve upon it. The Tasador de Costas is paid half a real for every page of the bill of costs. The Canciller receives two dollars for the application of the seal; for registrations, four reals the first folio, three the second, and two for every other; for an examination of the records, two reals a year; and for the diploma of an abogado, three dollars three reals. Relatores, or reporters, are paid two reals for each page of their reports. Agentes fiscales are paid the same fees as the Abogados and Relatores. The Portero receives a real for each petition or application presented to the court, besides fifteen dollars on the admission of an abogado, and six on that of an escribano or procurador.

The only incorporated banking establishment at the Havana is that called the Royal Bank of Ferdinand the Seventh, which was created in the year 1827, during the administration of Ballasteros at Madrid, at the instance of Señor Penillos, the present intendant at the Havana, since raised to the dignity of Conde de Villanueva. The first directors were the Conde de Santovenia, the Conde de la Reunion de Cuba, and Don Joaquin Gomez. The capital of this bank, amounting to a million of dollars, was provided by the Spanish government. Its business is confined to the discounting of pro-

missory notes and bills of exchange; and the directors are prohibited from engaging in any other speculation, however lucrative it may appear, under the penalty of being held personally responsible. The rate of discount is fixed at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum; the currency of the notes or bills of exchange discounted is limited to three months, and the directors are forbidden to give credit to any one individual, or to any single house of business, beyond the limit of $10,000. Two signatures satisfactory to the majority of the directors are declared to be indispensable; and unusual precautions are taken for the preservation of secrecy, in the event of rejection. Should the bills or notes discounted remain unpaid at maturity, the directors are authorised, if the debtor be a merchant, to seize the goods which may stand in his name at the custom-house, or in the bonded warehouses of the government; and if he be a planter or *hacendado*, they are in like manner authorised, should sufficient produce not be forthcoming, to confiscate his domestic slaves and his household furniture; and should these also prove insufficient to extinguish the debt, then authority is given to attach the field slaves, the live stock, and such other personal property as may be found on the debtor's estates. After such confiscation the directors are prohibited from interrupting the proceedings against the debtor, by the acceptance of security for the debt, or on any other ground but the actual payment of the money. No new discount is to be given to an individual or

a house of business once guilty of irregularity in their payments, for a period of three years at least, however much their circumstances may in the mean time have improved; and individuals applying for discount are to understand that they renounce in favour of the bank all personal privileges and immunities to which they may be entitled. Even the dowry of the wife is declared to be liable for the whole amount of the bank's claims against the husband.

The Colonial Minister of Finance is declared to be the president of the bank, and the Colonial Court of Exchequer is charged with the recovery of its debts. The utmost promptitude is prescribed in the proceedings of this tribunal, and only a single day is allowed for advertising the sale of the confiscated property. In the unexpected case of the confiscation of the rural property of a *hacendado*, the civil judge of the district, or the military commandant, is directed to proceed to the spot, accompanied by an officer on horseback and four policemen, and is to notify the proceeding to the *mayoral, mayordomo, dueño*, or other dependant of the debtor. On this being done, the field slaves on the estate are to be assembled, and a selection is to be made from among them to the amount of the number specified in the order of the court. The slaves so selected are to be carried to the prison of the Casa Blanca, and are there to be delivered over to the keeper, whose receipt is to be taken for them, remaining in his custody till the time of sale. In such a case, the probability of

hesitation and delay on the part of the constituted authorities, and of violent resistance on the part of the debtor, appears to be anticipated; and, to meet such difficulties, the heaviest penalties are enacted.

The directors of the bank are held responsible for their proceedings to the government to the extent of $100,000 each. For this amount, hypothecs or mortgages over real property are to be taken. The cashiers, book-keepers, clerks, and servants of the bank are named by the directors, by whom the salaries are fixed. Each director is to keep one of the three keys of the strong box; and no payment is to be made without the presence of at least one director, who may receive and use the keys of his colleagues. The responsibility of the directors is limited to the case of their granting discounts to persons not known to be in the possession of property, and in the notorious enjoyment of credit; and to their infringement of the rules of the bank, which, in this respect, are assimilated to the laws which govern the administration of the national finances. An account is to be presented to the President, weekly, of the state of the funds; and once a month he is to assist, in person, at the verification of the cash, which the directors are required to have balanced. At the end of each year, a general balance of the affairs of the bank is to be struck, and after being examined by the Court of Accounts, and approved of by the President, it is to be published for public information. The direc-

tors are authorised to appropriate 20 per cent. of the profits during the year to the payment of the salaries of the officers of the establishment and the other expenses of management. The business of the bank has hitherto been in a great measure confined to the management of the financial affairs of the colony. No notes are issued; but provision is made in the *Reglamento*, or code of laws for its government, that in the event of its becoming desirable to augment the active capital, deposits may be received and interest paid thereon, at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum. Should the property of foreigners be so deposited, it is declared to be under the royal protection, and not to be liable to confiscation or attachment on account of war, or reprisals, or under any other pretext whatever. These provisions of the code for the increase of the capital have not, however, yet been acted on; so that, upon the whole, its capital is too small, and its management too complicated to enable the institution to be of much practical use to the public.

The two insurance companies at the Havana having found that slave risks were unsafe, and that the amount of legitimate insurance did not furnish sufficient employment for their capital, have both been applying themselves to the business of private banking in the discount of bills, but not in the issue of notes. The senior company is authorised by its fundamental rules to employ its surplus funds in such discounts, provided the bills submitted to the directing committee have at least

two satisfactory signatures, and that they have not more than six months to run. The committee is prohibited from discounting to any one company or individual to a greater amount than $20,000. The junior company is, in like manner, authorised to discount bills, with two satisfactory signatures, and having not more than eight months to run; but no limit is imposed as to the amount to be advanced to individual customers. The senior company gives a salary of $4000 a-year to the director, besides 6 per cent. on the clear profits. The director of the other company has a salary of $3000 and an allowance of 5 per cent. on the profits.

The question has for some time been agitated of establishing a branch of the English Colonial Bank at the Havana. One of the agents of that establishment, Mr. Miranda, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Barbadoes, had visited that island for the purpose of instituting the necessary inquiries; when he found that it would not be safe to commence operations without obtaining such facilities in the recovery of debts as are already possessed by the Bank of Ferdinand VII. For this purpose I understand that a negotiation has been opened at Madrid; and if the Spanish government understand their own interest, they will of course take care to leave no difficulty in the way. The English Company to obtain a footing will probably be tempted to reduce the rate of interest; and the difference will be so much profit to the owner and dealer in slaves.

Nay, as the names of members of the British House of Commons are to be found on the list of the directors of the Colonial Bank, it is to be feared that a parliamentary interest will be created in favour of this infamous traffic, since the wealthy slave traders of the Havana will become the most valuable customers of that branch of the new banking establishment.

The greater part of that portion of the public revenue which is levied at the custom-house, is derived from duties on importation. If the goods imported be of foreign origin, and arrive from Spain under the national flag, the duty is fixed at 10¼ per cent. *ad valorem*, and in some cases 13¼ per cent. If of foreign origin, and imported from a foreign country, but in Spanish vessels, the *ad valorem* duty is 14¼ per cent., and in some cases 18¼. But if the goods be imported not only from a foreign country, but under a foreign flag, the duty *ad valorem* is 21¼, and in some cases 27¼ per cent. In each of these cases, there comes to be added a supplementary duty of 3 per cent. *ad valorem* on the goods, besides the duty called the Balanza, of 1 per cent. on the gross amount of the duties previously ascertained. If the goods be of Spanish origin, and arrive direct from Spain, under the national flag, they are liable only to a duty of 6¼ per cent. *ad volorem;* but if such Spanish goods should be brought from Spain by foreign vessels, then the duty would be 14¼, and in some cases 18¼ per cent. *ad valorem.*

On exports of goods, the produce of the island,

the duty is fixed at 2¼ per cent. *ad valorem*, if their destination be a Spanish port, and if the vessel, on board of which they are embarked bear a Spanish registry. If the vessel be Spanish, but a foreign port the place of destination, the duty will be 4¼ per cent. *ad valorem*. And if the vessel and the place of destination be both foreign, then the duty will be 6¼ per cent. *ad valorem*. In each of these cases, there is to be added the balance duty of 1 per cent., determined by the amount of the exportation duty.

In every case of importation, as well as exportation, the value is fixed as far as that is possible by the tariff; but in many cases, the applicability of the specified rate of duty to the specific articles imported or exported must, of course, remain to be determined by the custom-house officers.

The most material deviation from these rates of duty is in the case of flour, which, independent of the war contribution, if the produce of Spain, and imported in Spanish vessels, is liable to a duty of $2 per barrel; but if imported in foreign vessels, the same flour is subject to a duty of $6 per barrel. If the flour be the produce of a foreign country, and be imported under the national flag, the duty is $8½ per barrel; but if the foreign flour be imported under a foreign flag, the duty is $9½ per barrel. In each of these cases, also, the balance duty of 1 per cent. on the amount of the import duty must be added.

On the exportation of tobacco in foreign vessels with a foreign destination, the duty is 12¼ per

cent. *ad valorem;* in Spanish vessels with a foreign destination, 6¼ per cent.; and in Spanish vessels to a Spanish port, 2¼ per cent. *ad valorem.*

On the precious metals there is also an export duty, if Spain be not the place of destination. On gold it is 1¼, and on silver 2¼ per cent.

The export duty on sugar is only three reals per box, if shipped in a Spanish, and four reals if in a foreign vessel.

The other exceptions to the scale of *ad valorem* duties are not numerous, and relate to articles of little importance.

The list of articles admissible free of duty is so short, that it may be given entire. It is confined to ploughs of a particular construction, known by the name of the Roville plough, to iron sugar kettles, and iron or copper clarifiers, steam engines, and other machinery for sugar works; and such particular portions of such engines and machinery as are required to facilitate needful repairs. To these are added mills for cleaning rice, horses, *caballos padres*, and mares.

The articles that may be exported free of duty are, — green fruits of all sorts, such as oranges and lemons, pine apples, bananas and plantains, lime juice and syrup, of all which considerable quantities find their way to the neighbouring continent. The energy and enterprise applied to such small matters by the people of North America, and especially by the natives of New England, is almost beyond belief. In the course of last summer, on board a steam-boat on the St. Lawrence, I met with a

certain Colonel Thomas, of Vermont, who informed me that he made it his business to supply the people of Quebec and Montreal with the oranges and pine apples of Cuba; and in return he brought back to Ballston and Saratoga, and other places of fashionable resort, fresh salmon packed in ice from the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. The only other articles that can be legally exported free of duty are gold and silver, in the shape of bars, household utensils, or money; but the exemption is only available in the event of their being entered for exportation to the Peninsula.

The crown revenues of the Island may be divided into the six following classes: —

1st. *Rentas maritimas;* which include the duties on imports, exports, and tonnage, and the local or municipal duties which are levied at some of the custom-houses of the island.

2d. *Impuestos interiores;* such as the tax on home manufactures, the consumption duty on butchers' meat, the composition levied from hucksters and hawkers, the sale of papal bulls and of stamped paper, the profits derived from the lottery, and the impost on cock-fights.

3d. Deductions from the *Rentas ecclesiasticus*, particularly from those called the royal ninths, and the consolidated fund, the sinking fund, the *media annata*, and the annual and monthly revenues of the clergy.

4th. *Deducciones personales;* such as the contribution for exemption from military service, called the *Lanzas*, the *medias annatas seculares*, the

deduction from the pay of invalids, and the tax on pawnbrokers.

5th. Miscellaneous receipts; such as the produce of the sale of royal lands, the returns of the old pollt ax, the rents of vacant livings and of unclaimed estates, the produce of vendible offices, the *hospitalidades*, and the *peñas de camera*.

6th. Casual receipts; such as deposits, confiscations, donations, and the recovery of arrears.

The average produce of the import, export, and tonnage duties upon the five years ending with 1837 was $5,462,652 4. Before the year 1834 the export duties were equal to a fourth of those on imports, but in that year large allowances were made in consequence of the distress arising from the prevalence of cholera. The export duty on sugar, which was then reduced from twelve reals to three, if exported in Spanish vessels, and to four if in foreign vessels, has not since been re-established at its former rate; so that the whole export duties are now only about a sixth part of those levied on imports.

The territorial revenues, and the produce of the other taxes not exhibited in the official returns of the Balanza, amount on the average of the five years ending with 1837, to $3,485,928 6. In 1833, they were $3,660,185 2; in 1834, $3,847,446 1½; in 1835, $3,371,149 1; in 1836, $3,523,472 5; and in 1837, $3,027,390 5½. So that the whole revenues of the island, on the average of the five years ending with 1837, amounted to $8,948,581 2. Of this sum, the

maritime duties formed 61 per cent.; the internal taxes 22¾ per cent.; the ecclesiastical deductions 1¼ per cent.; the personal deductions 2¼ per cent.; the miscellaneous revenues 2½ per cent.; and the casual revenues 10¼ per cent.

To show the effect of the different duties to which two vessels would be liable, the one a Spaniard, the other a foreigner, let us suppose them to arrive with equal burdens of 300 tons each; that they bring mixed cargoes of the same description of goods, which they discharge at the Havana; and that they receive there mixed cargoes, in all respects similar to each other. In that case, the foreign vessel would have to pay —

For tonnage dues, at 12 reals per ton, with the addition of 1 per cent. of Balanza - - -	$454 4
For the dredging machine at 1¼ real per ton -	47 3
For wharf dues, at 10 reals per 100 tons per day, supposing that eight days are necessary - -	30 0
For the custom-house charges on the visit of entry (if the ship had been in ballast, this article would have been reduced one half) - - - -	5 4
For assistance in discharging, at the rate of $5½ per day - - - - - - -	44 0
For an extract of the manifest - - -	1 0
For the custom-house clearance visit (if the ship had sailed in ballast this would have been reduced one half)	5 4
For the cocket of the outward cargo - -	8 0
For the cocket stamp - - - -	8 2
For a translation of the manifest - - -	12 0
For custom-house officers' fees (if in ballast this charge would be $3) - - - - -	5 0
For the captain of the port - - -	6 0
For lighthouse dues - - - -	4 0
	631 1

Brought forward - - - -	$631 1
For government fees - - - -	4 0
For bill of health - - - - -	8 0
For the visit of the health officer - - -	2 0
	$645 1

On the other hand, supposing the vessel to have been Spanish, she would have had to pay —

For tonnage dues, at 5 reals per ton, with the addition of 1 per cent. of Balanza - - -	$189 3
For wharf dues, at the rate of 6 reals per 100 tons per day, supposing, as before, that 8 days are necessary	18 0
The charges for the dredging machine and the other items are the same on Spanish as on foreign vessels, amounting in the supposed case to - -	160 5
	$368 0
As the charges on the foreign vessel amounted to -	645 1
It follows that the distinction in favour of the national flag amounts to - - - -	$277 1

It is not here as in St. Domingo, where from the highest to the lowest the custom-house officers are notoriously open to the most barefaced corruption. At the Havana at least the inspecting officers, whose business it is to remain within the walls of the custom-house, and examine the goods as they pass, are considered in this respect as above all suspicion ; but the inferior functionaries, whose duties are performed out of doors, superintending the discharge of lumber and of all such cargoes as are received by the consignee direct from on board, have not the reputation of being perfectly immaculate.

On the export of most of the staple productions

the full amount of the duty imposed by the tariff is not generally paid, the packages being always larger, in fact, than the estimate made of them by the custom-house officers; and when not very great, the excess is advisedly overlooked. With regard to cigars, it is known that large parcels are sent out, on the payment of the one half of the regulated duty to the guards on the wharf.

No merchant in St. Domingo, however great his wealth or extensive his transactions, has any scruple about engaging in the system of corruption which there prevails universally. The affectation of purity, and the refusal to pay a bribe, would, in fact, exclude him from all power of competing with his fellow merchants in the market. In Cuba, however, or at least in the Havana, it is only the captains of vessels, or the merchants of an inferior class, who engage in the contraband trade; at least so I have been assured by the British Consul, who, being a merchant himself, may possibly have judged of others by the purity of his own practice; for certainly it can neither be the masters of vessels, nor the huckstering dealers of the Havana, who bring or receive from the United States the large quantities of the bulky article of flour which are constantly imported, as I have endeavoured to demonstrate, without the payment of duty.

Vessels arriving at the Havana, unless loaded with any of those varieties of goods known in the American timber trade by the name of lumber, and unless they have gunpowder on board, are

discharged at the public wharf; but as soon as that operation is accomplished, they are hauled out into the stream from one to two hundred yards off, and remain there at anchor until they receive their outward cargo, by means of launches or lighters, and are again ready for sea. Lumber-loaded vessels are discharged in the harbour, and gunpowder at the public magazine.

At those seasons of the year when the northerly gales, or "*Nortes*," are prevalent, the shipping is sometimes liable by being sent adrift or by running foul of each other, to be exposed to damage, or even capsized; but such accidents are exceedingly rare, and can generally be avoided by ordinary prudence in having the ships well moored, ballasted, and made snug before the stormy season sets in. The "*Nortes*" are rarely heard of before the end of October; but they continue at irregular intervals till the month of March. With this exception, the harbour is considered by nautical men to be remarkably safe, not being exposed to danger from currents or other casualties, or from any wind but the "*Norte*." The wharf is constructed of piles and planks of *acana* and iron wood, and the other hard woods of the country.

There is no port in the island which can be regarded as a desirable place for the repairing or careening of ships, or for obtaining supplies of water, bread, beef, or provisions. The wages of labour are high, and the prices of naval stores are enhanced by the duties on importation. The price of prime mess beef varies from ten to thirteen dol-

lars per barrel, that of prime mess pork from twenty-one to twenty-four dollars, and of pilot bread from five to six dollars per hundred weight. Water is also an article of sale to merchant vessels, but to her Majesty's ships it is supplied free of charge by the local government.

CHAP. VI.

STATISTICS.—IMPORTS.—EXPORTS.—SHIPPING.—TONNAGE. — DISCRIMINATING DUTIES. — INCREASE OF TRADE. — STATE OF TRADE. — TARIFF. — WAR CONTRIBUTION. — PRICE OF FLOUR.—AMERICAN FLOUR.—EDUCATION.—PERIODICAL LITERATURE.—THE SLAVE TRADE.—CAUSES OF PROSPERITY.

THE statistical information, which is annually published at the Havana with the sanction of the colonial government, is exceedingly minute; and as there seems no reason to doubt its accuracy, it must be also proportionally valuable. There are separate returns for the Havana, and the whole island respectively; of the imports and exports, the ships entered and the ships sailed, the duties levied on importation and exportation, the goods deposited in the bonding warehouses, distinguishing those afterwards exported and those admitted to consumption. Comparative tables are also given annually in these *Balanzas Mercantiles* and *Balanzas Generales* of the details relating to the year just ended with those of the year immediately preceding it; and, by preserving a series of these documents for a consecutive term of years, an interesting view is obtained of the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the island.

The imports are subdivided into vivres, manufactures, and miscellanies.

The vivres into liquids, salted meats, spices, fruits, grain, oleaginous substances, fish, and miscellanies.

Of liquids there was imported into the island, in the year 1837 ℓ— Oil, 106,966 arrobas; brandy, 115,098; malt liquor, 80,257; gin, 80,901; cider, 21,204; vinegar, 5,511; white wine, 125,945; red wine, 840,306; all in arrobas, and amounting altogether in value to $1,827,764 2.

Of salted meats: 2475 barrels of pork; 7540 barrels of beef; 2289 arrobas of smoked beef; 4516 arrobas of sausages; 27,771 arrobas of ham; 800,500 arrobas of jerked beef; 14,478 arrobas of bacon; the whole being of the value of $1,425,497 6.

Of spices: 6556 lbs. of saffron; 44,196 lbs. of cinnamon; 2404 lbs. of cloves; 1256 arrobas of black pepper; 7270 arrobas of red pepper; of the value of $115,979 1.

Of fruits: 23,421 arrobas of olives; 9102 of almonds; 5178 of nuts; 3124 of prunes; 10,336 of figs, and 36,534 of raisins; of the value of $187,586 3.

Of grain: 561,577 arrobas of rice; 40,837 of cocoa; 34,894 of beans; 42,980 of garbanzos; 183,767 barrels of flour; 1042 barrels of Indian corn meal; and 1642 arrobas of Indian corn; all of the value of $3,302,849.

Of oleaginous substances: 44,265 arrobas of fish oil; 301,724 arrobas of lard; 14,680 arrobas of butter; 36,600 arrobas of cheese; 15,670 arrobas of tallow; 264,699 lbs. of spermaceti candles;

45,988 arrobas of tallow candles; all of the value of $ 1,335,464 3.

Of fish: 35,114 arrobas of herrings; 4145 of tunny fish; 408,308 of cod; 23,587 of mackerel; 14,491 of other salt fish; 366 of salmon; and 13,595 of Sardines; all of the value of $ 437,907.

Of miscellaneous vivres: 968,640 strings of onions; 43,699 arrobas of vermicelli; 14,373 arrobas of macaroni; 30,157 barrels of potatoes; 1770 lbs. of tea; which, with dried vegetables, make a value of $ 293,697 7.

The manufactures are subdivided into cottons, woollens, linens, articles of leather, silks, articles of wood, and metals.

The cottons are valued at $ 3,233,120; the woollens at $ 576,178 6; the linens at $ 2,881,999 1; the articles of leather at $ 504,432 4; the silks at $ 516,484 1; the articles of wood at $ 979,838 2; and the metals at $ 1,899,627 6.

The miscellaneous articles consist chiefly of mercery, haberdashery, and thread; glass and earthenware, printed books and stationery, medicines, perfumery, gunpowder, wearing apparel, and household furniture; all of the value of $ 3,422,930.

Making the total value of the imports for the year 1837, $ 22,940,357.

The average of the five years ending with 1837 was $ 20,567,766 1.

On this quinquennial period, the relative proportion of vivres imported was 41 per cent., of manufactures 42, and of miscellaneous articles 17 per cent.

The exports for the same year are subdivided into, 1st, Productions of the island; 2d, Precious fruits and precious metals; and, 3d, Ultramarine productions.

The productions of the island are stated at 3450 pipes of rum, valued at $ 69,010; 26,987 arrobas of cotton $ 33,733 6; 9,060,053 arrobas of sugar $ 7,927,526 6; 2,133,567 arrobas of coffee $ 2,133,567 4; 587 arrobas of cocoa $ 2,208 2; 42,598 cubic yards of mahogany $ 128,906 2; 29,209 cubic yards of cedar $ 39,967 3; 39,264 arrobas of wax $ 171,800 1; 25,262 hides $ 35,943; 3109 arrobas of sweet meats $ 13,990 4; fruit, quantity not specified, $ 81,562; 3380 hhds. of honey $ 63,384 3; 114,975 hhds. of molasses $ 718,598 2; 2892 horses and mules $ 51,997; 179,503 arrobas of leaf tobacco $ 560,948 3; 792,438 lbs. of cigars $ 1,267,496; miscellaneous articles $ 1,017,188; making the whole productions of the island exported in 1837, amount to $ 14,317,865 5.

The precious fruits and precious metals exported are valued as follows: — 82,890 lbs. of indigo at $ 82,890; 26,987 arrobas of grain $ 163,549 5; coined gold $ 731,391 4; and coined silver $ 1,382,906 5; making together $ 2,360,737 6.

The ultramarine productions exported are thus valued: — Cottons $ 1,208,312 4; liquors $ 182,131 6; fruits and grain $ 164,285 7; hardware $ 174,337 2; woollens $ 99,201 2; linens $ 201,271 6; dye woods $ 48,284; articles of leather $ 31,831 4; silks $ 125,421 4; sarsapa-

rilla $ 7218 6; miscellanies $ 1,425,527 5; making together $ 3,667,823 6. So that the whole exports for the year 1837 amounted to $ 20,346,607 1.

Of the ships and vessels that entered the harbours of the island in 1837, 753 were Spaniards, 1319 Americans, 7 Belgians, 29 from Bremen, 14 Danish; 54 French, 1 St. Domingo, 10 from Hamburgh, 30 Dutch, 201 English, 10 Mexican, 78 Portuguese, 1 Russian, 11 Sardinian, and 6 Swedish; in all 2524.

Of the ships and vessels that sailed, 626 were Spanish; 1267 American; 8 Belgian; 40 Bremen; 17 Danish; 44 French: 1 Haytian; 16 Hamburgh; 17 Dutch; 202 English; 8 Mexican; 62 Portuguese; 1 Russian; 10 Sardinian; and 7 Swedish: in all 2326.

The number of tons imported in 1837 amounted to 367,014; the tonnage duties to $ 405,797 3, and the custom-house duties to $ 4,591,982 5. The number of tons exported were 342,981; the export duties $ 811,995 2; and the whole duties on tonnage, imports, and exports, amounted to $ 5,809,775 2.

The port of the Havana commands a very large proportion of the trade of the island. In 1837, its imports were valued at $ 17,416,299 5, and its exports at 13,605,699 2½. The imports of Santiago de Cuba were $ 2,299,399 6½, and its exports $ 2,182,001 4. The imports of Puerto Principe $ 232,839 3½, and its exports $ 116,256 6. The imports of Matanzas were $ 1,458,812 4½, and its exports $ 3,065,802 6½. The imports of Trinidad

de Cuba were $1,108,698 7, and its exports $935,101 1. The imports of Baracoa were $31,763 3, and its exports $39,021 3½. The imports of Gibara were $115,101 1½, and its exports $145,189 2. The imports of Cienfuegos were $102,151 1, and its exports $110,538 1. The imports of Manzanillo were $175,291, and its exports $146,796 7: making the total imports, as before, $22,940,357; and the total exports $20,346,407 1½.

On the average of the five years ending with 1837, the relative proportion of goods imported and exported under the various flags was as follows: — The Spanish flag, 43½ per cent.; the United States, 26 per cent.; the other American States, 7½ per cent.; England, 7½ per cent.; France, 4¼ per cent.; Germany, 2½ per cent.; the Low Countries, 1¼ per cent.; the Baltic, Italy, and Portugal, 1 per cent.; goods entered in bond, and therefore not distinguished, 6½ per cent.

From the nature and amount of the discriminating duties, the whole trade with the ports of Spain is, of course, carried on under the national flag. The imports in this branch amounted, in 1837, to $4,659,153 5½, and the exports to $2,919,474 4. These duties give a large share also of the foreign trade to the national shipping. It amounted, in 1837, to $4,966,101 ½ of imports, and $1,294,282 6 of exports. The imports from the Hanse Towns were $361,556 7½, and the exports $1,582,667 4. The imports from Denmark $28,341 7, and the exports $25.469 7.

From the States of America, formerly colonies of Spain, the imports were $1,099,367 2, and the exports $248,328 5. From the United States, the imports were $6,548,957 6½, and the exports $5,792,623. From France, the imports were $861,360 1½, and the exports $1,344,608. From England, the imports were $1,373,964 ½, and the exports $2,990,466 1. From Italy, the imports were $71,941 4, and the exports $106,714 7. From the Low Countries, the imports were $203,491 7, and the exports $1,130,918 4. From Portugal, the imports were $23,509 2½, and the exports $416,391 1. From Russia, Sweden, and Turkey, there were no imports; but the exports to Russia were $555,701 4, to Sweden $60,050 7, and to Turkey $2,796. The imports into the bonded warehouses are given without distinguishing the flag. They amounted, in 1837, to $2,639,521 3½, the exports to $1,469,141 5, and the goods introduced out of bond into consumption on payment of duties to $406,777 2½.

From these tables it may be inferred, although not of course stated officially, that the average burden of the vessels engaged in the slave trade, in 1837, did not exceed 125 tons.

In all departments of the trade of the island, there was an increase in 1837, as compared with 1836. In imports, the increase amounted to $456,770 4½. In exports, to no less than $4,328,535 0½. In tonnage and custom-house duties, to $142,646 5. In vessels entered, to 16. In tonnage entered, to 28,321. In vessels sailed,

to 102. In tonnage sailed, to 5869. In goods bonded, it amounted to $1,629,749 5; and in goods taken out of bond, to $742,976 2½.

The chief increase in imports took place in the quantity and value of goods admitted into bond, and the chief increase of exports was in the articles of sugar, molasses, coffee, wax, and cigars. On sugar the increase was 4,630 boxes. On molasses, 5426 hogsheads; on coffee, 87,188 bags; on wax, 160 tons; and on cigars, 50,000 thousands. It was estimated, at the time of my leaving the Havana, (the official returns for the year not having then been made up,) that the exports of sugar and molasses, in 1838, would be much greater than in any previous year, in consequence of the increase of labour applied to the cultivation of the sugar cane and the manufacture of the sugar, by the withdrawal of labourers from coffee plantations, and still more by the constant and increasing introduction of Bozal negroes from the coast of Africa. It was supposed that the exportation of coffee in 1838 would prove inferior to that of 1837, because the crops were generally indifferent; and for the reason just stated in regard to the increase of sugar, the cultivation was on the decline. The blockade of the ports of Mexico by the French had interrupted the demand for wax; but it was not doubted that the re-opening of the Mexican ports would become the signal for the trade of bleaching to recommence with fresh activity. The manufacture of cigars was also decidedly on the increase.

From the two ports of the Havana and Matanzas the exports have increased in the following ratio. In 1835 they were $491,570; in 1836, $500,153; in 1837, $506,952; in 1838, $610,512; and even on this last quantity an increase was anticipated for 1839. The great augmentation towards the end of this period is ascribed by the British commissioners to the stimulus supposed to have been given to the efforts of the planters from the expectation of obtaining a high price for their sugar, in consequence of a diminished production in the British West Indies.

From the manner in which the official returns are prepared, it is not possible to ascertain from them, with anything approaching to accuracy, the quantity or value of the importations from England, or from any given foreign country, however much the information contained in the returns may be depended on as often as it is given specifically. Thus many of the imports are given under the heads of "Foreign Commerce imported in Spanish vessels," which is all the specification required for the guidance of the officers, in charging or levying the duties of tonnage or of customs; and in the same way the origin of goods admitted to the privilege of the *entrepôt* is not specified in the returns; but I have the authority of her Majesty's consul in stating that, in regard to the importation of British goods, within the last few years, there has been no material variation on the side either of diminution or improvement.

The ulterior destination of a considerable portion

of the produce of the island is also a matter of uncertainty, in consequence of the practice which obtains, among the merchants of the country, of directing the commanders of ships to call for orders at some convenient point of the English coast, in which case they are entered in the return of exports from Cuba as for "Cowes and a market," although the Continent generally may have been their original, and some particular continental port their ultimate, destination.

The tariff of duties on importation remained unaltered from the commencement of the year 1835 till the end of the year 1838, when some additions of no great moment took effect. With regard to goods coming from North America, and other neighbouring parts, the augmentation was levied from the 15th of October, 1838; but on arrivals from Europe, South America, and similarly distant regions, it did not come into operation till the 1st of January, 1839. The previously existing duties, charged *ad valorem* according as the goods imported were of Spanish or foreign origin, or as they arrived under a Spanish or foreign flag, were 6¼, 17¼, 21¼, 24¼, and 30¼ per cent. At the periods referred to, they were increased one seventh, making them thenceforward 7⅐, 19⅗, 24⅖, 27⅗, and 34⅖ respectively.

On Spanish flour, which was previously subject to a duty of $2 per barrel, an additional $1 was imposed; but the duty on foreign flour remained at its previous high rate without augmentation.

The additions to the duties on exportation were

confined to the articles of sugar, coffee, molasses, and tobacco. On each box of sugar, an additional duty of four reals or half a dollar was imposed; on each arroba of coffee one eighth of a real, on each hogshead of molasses two reals, on each arroba of leaf tobacco one quarter of a real, and on each thousand cigars one real.

It is expected that these additional duties will produce about a million of dollars per annum, and that the share of the war contribution imposed by the Peninsular government on the island of Cuba will thus be liquidated in about two years and a half, or three years at farthest. According to the budget of the Conde de Villanueva, these war duties will bring in to the treasury from $375,000 to $400,000 on exports, and from $525,000 to $600,000 on imports. The new duty of one dollar per barrel on Spanish flour is expected of itself to produce $100,000; but it may be doubted whether the difference which will still remain of six dollars and a half between the aggregate duty on Spanish, and the unaltered duty on American flour, will not be sufficient to encourage the contraband importation to such an extent as materially to interfere with the estimated produce of the war tax. The duty of nine dollars and a half per barrel on American flour is equal to more than one hundred per cent. on its average value, after freight and charges are added to it. Wheaten bread becomes, therefore, an article of luxury, unknown altogether to the negro population, and but rarely enjoyed by the lower classes among the free in-

habitants of the island. Under ordinary circumstances, it might have been inferred *d priori* that the consumption of flour must have increased *pari passu* with the increase of wealth and population. This, however, is so far from being shown by the custom-house returns, that, during the five years ending with 1830, the average annual importation of flour was 179,918 barrels; whereas, during the five years immediately subsequent to 1830, the average annual importation was only 162,523 barrels. The only possible way in which this extraordinary diminution can be reasonably accounted for is, by supposing the existence of smuggling to a large extent from North America, — a supposition which is fully borne out by the opinions of the best informed merchants at the Havana. It is true that the superior quality of American flour, as compared with Spanish, gives it a decided preference in the market; so much so, that there has occasionally been a difference of three dollars per barrel in its price. The cheapest year that has occurred for a long period was 1833, when the price of Spanish flour varied from ten and a half to eleven dollars per barrel, and that of American flour from thirteen to fourteen dollars. In 1836, the price of Spanish flour was from fourteen to fifteen dollars, and that of American from seventeen to eighteen and a half dollars. These prices include of course the import duty in both cases.

Until the year 1835, the flour of Old Spain, coming chiefly from Santander, paid a duty of

three dollars, if introduced in Spanish bottoms, and four dollars five and a half reals, if under a foreign flag; while American flour paid seven dollars if imported in Spanish bottoms, and nine dollars four reals if in foreign. Under this system the national shipping was greatly favoured, and had for many years been constantly on the increase. In 1826, the total acknowledged importation of flour was 147,995 barrels, of which 37,749½ were Spanish. In the years 1828, 1829, and 1830 the legal importation was on the increase; and in 1831 it amounted to 162,782¾ barrels, of which 70,464 were Spanish. In 1832, the proportion of Spanish flour fell to 51,595½ barrels. In consequence of this falling off, the royal order of the 4th of July, 1834, was issued, declaring that Spanish flour introduced under the Spanish flag should pay only two dollars a barrel; whereas, if introduced under any foreign flag, it should pay six dollars, besides a supplementary balance duty.

In consequence of the heavy discriminating duties imposed by Spain on the importation of goods under any foreign flag, the government of the United States, who were the greatest sufferers, resorted to a system of retaliation, and induced Congress to enact that all Spanish vessels entering any port of the Union, from Cuba or Porto Rico, should pay a tonnage duty equivalent to the amount which their cargoes would have paid, had they been exported from either of these islands in American vessels. This measure of reprisal was felt by the Spaniards to be a serious blow to their

shipping interests; but although there has of late years been a considerable diminution in the amount of tonnage engaged in the foreign trade, in consequence of the number of vessels that have been driven from it by these retaliatory duties, there can be no doubt that the loss has in a great measure been compensated, and that the number of vessels employed in the coasting trade has increased with the growing wants of the island, and a rapidly augmented production.

The census of 1827, prepared by a sort of military commission, under the eye of the Captain-General of that period, Don Francisco Dionisio Vives, is at least a very elaborate performance, and the Memoir in which it is embodied contains a vast variety of highly interesting details, independent of the mere enumeration of the inhabitants; a parallel to which it would be very desirable to possess in our own colonies. The number of churches in the island is stated to be 189; of chapels and hermitages, 108; of male convents, 19; of female convents, 5; of hospitals, 30; of barracks for troops, 50; of physicians and surgeons, 504; of apothecaries' shops, 186; of primary schools, some of them for both sexes, 141; of hucksters' shops and taverns, 2943; of mercers' and haberdashers' shops, 618; of farriers, 66; of carpenters' shops, 459; of shoemakers' shops, 769; of tailors' shops, 240; of smithies, 226; of shops for small wares, 118; of founderies, 16; of cooperages, 77; of gunsmiths' shops, 40; of inns, eating houses, and coffee houses, 195; of bakeries, 445; of houses built of

wood and plaster, and roofed with planks or shingles, 65,589; and of houses built of stone or brick, and roofed with tiles, 22,167.

The number of acres under cultivation are stated to be 3,020,027; of cattle or pasture farms of the first class, 1140; of inferior breeding establishments, 6190; of sugar mills, 1000; of coffee estates, 2067; of cocoa estates, 66; of cotton estates, 76; of dairies, 3098; of workshops, 13,947; of tobacco plantations, 5534; of honey and wax making establishments, 1686; of beehives, 311,553; of tanneries, 50; of tile-kilns, 703; of distilleries, 300; of lime-kilns and plaster works, 231; of houses of recreation in the country, 46; of volantes and quitrins, both two-wheeled carriages, 5100; of light carts and waggons, 15,344; of bulls and cows, 1,058,732; of oxen for labour and draught, 140,539; of horses and mares, 206,973; of asses and mules, 19,642; of pigs, 893,538; and of sheep and goats, 46,962.

The agricultural and industrial produce is stated as follows: — Of white or clayed sugar, 8,091,837 arrobas of 25 lbs. each; of brown or muscovado sugar, 81,545; of pipes of rum, 35,103; of hogsheads of molasses, 81,173; of arrobas of coffee, 2,883,528; of arrobas of wax, 63,160; of arrobas of honey, 76,404; of arrobas of cocoa, 23,806; of arrobas of cotton, 38,142; of arrobas of indigo, 56; of arrobas of rice, 520,897; of arrobas of beans, 134,185; of arrobas of *garbanzos*, a particular sort of bean, 4505; of horse loads of plan-

tains, *yucas*, *boniatos*, *malangas*, and *yams*, a horse load being equal to two hundred weight, 3,666,388; of horse loads of green vegetables of all sorts, 384,857; of arrobas of onions, 9548; of arrobas of garlic, 17,421; of *fanegas* of Indian corn, 1,617,806; of horse loads of Guinea grass and other fodder, 2,793,308; of horse loads of leaf tobacco, 61,898; and of horse loads of casava bread, 36,585.

The state of education in the primary schools of the island of Cuba forms one of the three important objects to which the attention of the Patriotic Society of the Havana is directed. But although a corporate body, armed with considerable powers, I regret to say that, in this department of its duties, the society is not very cordially or efficiently supported. Of primary schools there are, in the whole island, for white boys, 129; and for white girls, 79; for coloured boys, 6; and for coloured girls, 8. Of course, no slave is admitted into any school in the island. The whole number of white boys who attend these schools is 6025; of white girls, 2417; of coloured boys, 460; and of coloured girls, 180. In the entire province of Puerto Principe, there is not a single school for free coloured children of either sex; and it is almost needless to say that in the white schools they are not admissible. Of those who pay for their own education there are 3255 white boys, 1557 white girls, 371 coloured boys, and 142 coloured girls. Of those taught gratuitously by the masters, there

are 672 white boys, 363 white girls, 71 coloured boys, and 28 coloured girls. Of those who have the expense of their education defrayed by patriotic societies, there are 340 white boys, and 200 white girls. Of those educated by public subscription, or by local taxation, there are 1758 white boys, 297 white girls, 18 coloured boys, and 10 coloured girls.

It is assumed that there are in the island 99,599 free children, between the ages of five and fifteen; and the free population of the island, according to the last census, having amounted to 417,545, it follows that the number of free children is proportionally to the number at school as 9·97 are to 1, and that the total free population, as compared with the numbers of the children at school, is as 45·98 are to 1.

The province of the Havana is much better educated than those of Puerto Principe or Santiago; and if a map of the island were coloured on the principle adopted by M. Charles Dupin, to exhibit at a glance the state of education in France, the central district of Puerto Principe would show very black indeed. There the proportion of the free children is to those who are educated as 26·08 are to 1, and the general population to the numbers of the children at school as 97·43 are to 1.

In the province of the Havana, the free children are to the educated children as 7·84 are to 1, and the free population to the children at school as 34·04 are to 1.

Between these extremes, in the province of San-

tiago, the number of free children fit for school is to the number of children at school as 13·11 are to 1, and the free population of the province to the number of educated children as 51·71 are to 1. The number of white children in that province, between five and fifteen years of age, is 65,658, and of coloured children 24,859, making together 90,517.

The periodical literature of the island is more considerable than might have been expected, under the paralysing influence of an unsparing censorship. There are eight newspapers published in Cuba, of which four are daily, viz., the *Diario de la Havana*, and the *Noticioso y Lucero* both belonging to the capital, the *Aurora*, of Matanzas, and the *Redactor de Cuba*, published at Santiago. The other four are the *Eco de Villaclara*, the *Correo de Trinidad*, the *Gaceta de Puerta Principe*, and the *Fenix of Sancti-Spiritus*. Besides the newspapers, there are published at the Havana, several literary periodicals, such as the *Album*, the *Mariposa*, the *Siempreviva*, the *Cartera*, and the *Memorias de la Real Sociedad Patriotica*.

During the constitutional crisis in Spain, when the censorship was no longer in activity, a number of journals with most extraordinary titles were started at the Havana; such as, *El Sastre Constitucional; Los Rugidos de un Leon Africano; Rasgos brillantes de Arbitriedad; El Mosquito; La Mosca; La Avispa; El Esquifo;* &c. &c.

The circulation of the two existing Havana papers is said to be considerable; and from the

manner in which advertisements are crowded into their columns, they are no doubt highly profitable to the proprietors. To a European observer, the constantly recurring notices of the sales of slaves are at first the most striking. On looking over the file I brought away with me, I frequently find the intimation of such a sale as the following: "*Una negra*" or "*Una nodriza de dos meses de parida, con su cria* o SIN ELLA!" In fact, there are thousands of advertisements of the sale of male and female adults; but never of young children, except in such cases as the above. The idea of selling the mother "with or without the child" is truly horrifying; but it is some satisfaction to be able to add, that such notices are not now so frequent as formerly; so that public opinion, or a sense of public decency, begins to have some force at the Havana. There are other matters in these Diarios which are equally absent from our own West India newspapers; such as original poetry, scientific notices, and literary and theatrical criticism.

Independent of the dry details of statistical tables, the advance of the island towards a high degree of agricultural and commercial prosperity, is obvious at a glance, and need not, therefore, be made a subject of discussion. The causes of that prosperity, however, deserve to be inquired into; and as it exists to an equal degree in no other tropical country, unless we except the sister island of Porto Rico, and the vast empire of the Brazils, we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion, that as, in

these countries alone, the slave trade is resorted to as the sure means of obtaining cheap labour, their common prosperity must be referred to a source which they are still suffered to enjoy exclusively and in common.

Although, therefore, the slave trade inferred no outrage on the feelings, and no violation of the rights of humanity, the sordid laws of self interest ought of themselves to provoke the interposition of all the other nations of the earth, producers of sugar, in putting down a traffic so incompatible with their interests. England, France, Holland, Denmark, and the United States of America, have all in this point of view a clear interest in its suppression. Nay, the countries into which, the production of sugar from the beet root is so rapidly extending, have, if possible, a still more lively interest in putting down a competition, which, backed and supported as it is by the bright sun of the tropics, they can hardly be expected to be able successfully to contend against. Let Russia and Poland, therefore, where beet root sugar is manufactured so extensively, let Austria, and Prussia, whose chemists, and agriculturists, have lately brought the process of sugar making to a high degree of perfection, and let Turkey, and the Italian states, where privileges and monopolies have been created in its favour, combine together to crush and extirpate their hideous rival, and in the name of self-interest, lend their united aid to combat and destroy the bloodiest foe of the human race.

From this primary cause of prosperity, we have

no deduction to make as in the British colonies for the absenteeism of the landed proprietors. The island of Cuba can count some thirty of the grandees of Spain among its constant residents, who scarcely entertain a desire for even a temporary enjoyment of the luxuries of Europe, and who, in fact, are seldom to be found beyond the moderate limits of an afternoon's drive from their magnificent hotels in the Havana, or their princely *Fincas* in its immediate vicinity. The revenues of these Hacendados are expended, therefore, in the island; and those who exceed their income are not less eager to extend the cultivation, and increase the produce of their old estates, than are the more prudent class, who economise and accumulate, to seek for the means of employing their surplus capital in the formation of new ones.

In speaking of the prosperity of the island, one of the first of the causes which presents itself for consideration is the fertility of the soil. In this respect, its rich alluvial districts are not surpassed by the fruitful soils of the Guianas, and are only, if at all, inferior to the corresponding regions of St. Domingo, and the Naparimas of our own Trinidad. But in Guiana, the advantage of water communication between the cane field and the mill, and afterwards between the curing house and the place of embarkation, places the Demerarians in a situation little inferior to that of the planter in Cuba, with all the benefit he derives from the cheapness of labour. The extent also to which labour is diminished in all the British colonies, by the application of ma-

chinery to the making of sugar serves, in some degree, to redress the balance which has been affected by the influence of the slave trade. On the other hand, the Cuba proprietors are regaining their lost ground by the introduction of steam-boats, and the construction of railways; and I fear that those of our capitalists who, tempted by the high rate of interest, have lent their money to the colonial government of the island for the purpose of defraying the expense of making the railway to Guines, have not sufficiently reflected on the baneful consequences of their proceeding. Every shilling of English capital laid out in the island, either in the extension of cultivation or the cheapening of produce, serves to fetter some poor negro in the interior of Africa, or to rivet the chains of those now toiling in the cane-fields or the sugar houses of Cuba. The holders of shares in the Brazilian mining companies are still more directly connected with the slave trade. It is well known that the mines of that country are worked by slave labour; so that every shareholder is not only a slave owner, but, by the purchases of newly imported Africans which are constantly made by the managers of the company, becomes a most efficient promoter and encourager of the slave trade. If those ladies and gentlemen "who live at home at ease" were only to witness some portion of the enormities committed by means of their money, and to promote their advantage, they would spurn from them the contaminated gains with loathing and disgust.

The district of Sagua la Grande is so highly productive, that a *caballeria* of land, which is nearly equal to thirty-three English acres, has been known to produce 10,000 *arrobas* of the fair coloured muscovado sugar of that country; a proportional return which I never heard of in the Guianas, and very rarely in any other British colony, being nearly equal to four moderate sized hogsheads per acre.

The topographical conformation of the island is also very much in its favour, as, although upwards of 600 miles in length, it scarcely contains a spot more than thirty miles distant from the sea. Its agricultural and mineral productions can never, therefore, be very far from a place of embarkation. Cuba, moreover, is much less mountainous than the neighbouring islands of Jamaica and St. Domingo, so that there are fewer impediments than elsewhere to the formation of roads and other means of internal communication.

The external commerce of Cuba, and especially of the Havana, is of course essentially promoted by its geographical position, in the very mouth of the Gulf of Mexico; at the further side of which there is a nation boasting eight millions of inhabitants, who, without much commercial enterprise, will naturally be induced to seek for their foreign supplies in the nearest and most convenient market. In the trade with Mexico, New Orleans is the only rival that the Havana has to fear; and the French and Anglo-American merchants of New Orleans are not in a situation to compete success-

fully with the *habaneros*, who, from the effect of old associations and established connections, the similarity of tastes and habits, and the uniformity of language, must always command a preference in the eyes of a Mexican purchaser.

CHAP. VII.

FREEDOM OF TRADE. — CONTRABAND IN FLOUR. — DIFFERENTIAL DUTIES. — BONDED WAREHOUSES. — THE SLAVE TRADE. — INSURANCE. — PRIVATE UNDERWRITERS. — MERCHANTS. — EMIGRANTS. — EMIGRATION. — CENSUS OF 1827. — POPULATION. — COARTADO SYSTEM. — SLAVES SENT TO TEXAS. — SLAVE POPULATION. — STATE OF SLAVERY. — SLAVE CENSUS. — SLAVERY. — INCREASE OF SLAVE TRADE. — DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVE TAX.

THE mercantile interests of the island have been greatly promoted by the relaxation of those restrictive regulations which under the old peninsular system bound down all foreign commerce with the colonies of Spain, and laid it prostrate at the feet of the mother country. It cannot be said that he sound principles of free trade, in any large or extended sense of the term, have been recognised or acted upon even at the single port of the Havana. The discriminating duties imposed by the supreme government of Madrid on the natural productions, manufactures, and shipping of foreign countries, in contradistinction to those of Spain, are so stringent and so onerous as altogether to exclude the idea of anything approaching to commercial freedom. There is no longer, it is true, any absolute prohibition; but in many cases the distinguishing duties are so heavy as to defeat their own object, and, in place of promoting the interests of the

mother country, have had little other effect than the establishment of an extensive and ruinous contraband.

The landed proprietors of Old Spain are just as eager as the aristocracy of England for the protection of their peculiar interests. The English corn laws are, in fact, not so unreasonable as the Spanish duties on the introduction of American flour into Cuba; which as a source of revenue are unproductive, and as an instrument of protection are wholly inoperative. In spite of the bulk of the article, the bread used in the island is made for the most part of American flour; but at the time of my visit to the Havana the best flour had reached the enormous price of $45 a barrel, and the best bread, which was not even of tolerable quality, the equally enormous price of eight-pence a pound. The duty on Spanish flour is 13*s.* 6*d.* a barrel, and on that of America 2*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*

The other leading articles of importation, as often as they threaten to compete with any Spanish commodity, are treated with corresponding rigour. Thus an *ad valorem* duty of thirty-four and four sevenths per cent. is imposed on the wines of France, the hardware of England, and the linens of Germany; while similar articles, the produce of Spain, are charged only seven and four sevenths per cent.

The duties on shipping are equally discriminatory. Foreign vessels are charged 6*s.* 9*d.* a ton, while those of Spain are admitted on payment of 2*s.* 9*d.* These tonnage duties are levied, although

the goods to which they are made to apply may not be destined for the consumption of the island; but are merely landed and warehoused under the government lock for the purposes of transit, and deposit, in virtue of the privileges of the *entrepôt*, or bonding system. These privileges have hitherto been confined to the single city of the Havana, and I am not aware that any demand has yet been made for their extension to any of the other ports of the island.

Goods allowed to be deposited in the government warehouses of the Casa Blanca may lie there for an indefinite period, provided they have been imported in vessels exceeding sixty tons burden, if Spanish, and eighty tons if not Spanish; and provided they do not consist of provisions, or other articles of a perishable nature, nor of articles of unreasonable bulk. The only charges made for the exercise of the privilege, are the ultimate payment of the consumption duty in the event of the goods being afterwards entered for consumption, and the intermediate satisfaction of a deposit tax of two per cent. per annum, in which the warehouse rent is understood to be included. To this rule, in so far as the unrestricted period is concerned, the article of flour, whether Spanish or foreign, is an exception. Although admissible for a time to the privileges of the *entrepôt*, it must either be entered for exportation or for consumption in the island, in the latter case paying the duty corresponding to the country of its origin, and in both within the "*termina improrogable*" of four months from the date

of its being bonded. By a recent regulation, olive oil, beer, cider, vinegar, red and white wine, rice, ropes, marble slabs, alabaster, and soap, have been entitled to the privileges of the *entrepôt*. In charging the duties, an allowance is made, at the discretion of the surveying officer, on articles subject to waste, to the extent of the actual deficiency, provided it does not in any case exceed a tenth part of the quantity or value.

There has been no recent change in the code of custom-house regulations; but, as long as the French blockade of the ports of Mexico continued, a liberal extension was practically given to the warehousing system, as a number of vessels bound for Vera Cruz and Tampico, and warned off by the blockading squadron, were allowed, on their arrival at the Havana, to place their cargoes under the lock of the *entrepôt*, except such portions of them as were decidedly perishable.

I believe it is perfectly understood, that every foreign merchant at the Havana, and at the other sea-ports of the island, has an interest more or less direct in the maintenance of the slave trade; as if striving to prove how nearly they could approach the limit of the law without an actual infringement of it: *Quam prope ad crimen sine crimine.* There are some merchants, however, who unhappily do not content themselves with that indirect interest which arises from the ordinary commercial profit on the goods they may sell, but who actually agree to furnish an outward-bound slaver with supplies for the coast of Africa, on the condition of

receiving payment on the usual credit for the prime cost of the goods, while his mercantile profit is made to depend on the return of the ship, and the success of the homeward voyage. In this way the spirit of gaming which uniformly pervades these slaving transactions may be safely indulged in, — at least without any obvious pecuniary risk; and in fact it is not difficult, from the vast variety of shapes that the trade has assumed, for a person on the spot either to steep himself to the eyes in the abominations of the traffic, or stealthily draw off a more moderate portion of the polluted stream. It grieves me to the heart to be compelled to add that some of our own countrymen are tempted by the monstrous profits to enter more or less deeply into those speculations. I think I shall never forget the tell-tale countenance of a simple Irishman at the Havana, when, perhaps for the first time, his attention was drawn to the criminal nature of the enterprise in which he had indirectly engaged. Having made some money by keeping a retail shop for the supply of the shipping in the harbour, he had been induced to engage in a speculation of this sort, by which he expected to double or treble his ordinary profits. His answers to my inquiries having produced an exclamation which was not, perhaps, over courteous, he asked in a tone of alarm — "Why, what harm is there in it; what risk do I run?" To which the prompt reply was given by a countryman of his, who happened to be with me at the time, — "Only the risk of being hanged if ever you set your foot in Ireland again."

There is another class of our countrymen, however, who have much more to answer for than this poor Irish shopkeeper in their wholesale disregard of the first principles of humanity. I fear it is not to be doubted, that there are men of large capital in the British metropolis who lay out their money at the large interest which the slave trader can afford to pay; and it is within my knowledge, that certain individuals of immense wealth, who, although bearing a foreign patronymic, are, to all intents and purposes, British subjects, who, not content with risking their money to secure this high rate of interest, have actually stipulated on becoming sleeping partners in one of the most notorious slaving-houses at the Havana, the better to enable them, as they fondly imagine, to bring their French and Spanish partners to account. Even on the Spanish territory, however, such transactions are no further obligatory than the laws of honour prescribe; and although it has sometimes been said that there may be honour among thieves, I believe it will be found, in the case referred to, that there has not been much among slavers.

The regular traders in slaves have also found the means of protecting their interests, by the ordinary principle of insurance. There are in fact two regular associations at the Havana, the one entitled "*Compañia de Seguros maritimos*," the other "*Especulacion*," the original objects of both of which were almost exclusively the covering of slave risks. The capital of the first company amounted to $250,000, and that of the second to $600,000; but although

they exacted premiums which varied from 25 to 40 per cent., according to the sailing qualities of the ship, or the character of the master for sagacity and courage, and sometimes also for his mere good luck,—yet the balance in the slave risks has proved so unfavourable, that both companies have been compelled to abandon them, and confine their attention to more legitimate transactions.

I have now copies before me of the balance sheets of the two associations, from which, under the head of *Riesgos Estraordinarios*, the modest title they have given to their slave-trading speculations, I perceive that the one company has sustained a loss, and that the other has not secured any profit. Since their abandonment of the slave risks, the two companies have not confined themselves altogether to maritime insurance, but have employed a portion of their capital in the discounting of bills, and in other banking transactions. In fact, such is their credit with the people of the United States, or such, rather, is the discredit into which the American insurance offices have fallen, that risks are often sent to the Havana companies for acceptance from Boston and New York, and the other maritime cities of the Union.

The practice of life insurance, I understand, is scarcely known at the Havana; and insurance against fire, on which such large sums are expended in the British colonies, is here very rare.

Since the withdrawal of the regular companies from the business of slave trade insurance, that business has been taken up by private under-

writers, who, without obtaining premiums any greater in general than those formerly demanded by the rival insurance companies, have nevertheless, on the whole, been successful in their transactions; on the principle, probably, that a private individual looks more keenly after his personal interests than the manager or director of any large association.

In the great cities of the island, the business of a merchant is often combined with that of a planter; and sometimes also the importing merchant keeps a shop or store, as is customary in the British colonies, and sells his goods by retail. The mercantile capital as well as the proprietary wealth of the island may be said to be concentrated in the hands of the Creoles. At the Havana, there are several Creole merchants supposed to be worth from 100,000*l.* to 200,000*l.* sterling, and a very considerable number from 20,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* sterling. Those of inferior station are chiefly Spaniards from Catalonia, Gallicia, and Biscay, the Canaries or the Costa Firme, many of whom, from their adventurous disposition, combined with great industry, succeed in amassing considerable wealth. It is to be feared that many of this class are not particularly scrupulous about the sources from whence their profits are derived, as it is chiefly among them, when a slaver is held in shares, that the profit or loss is divided. The families of these Spanish adventurers are often induced to settle in the island, and thus permanently to increase the numbers of the white Creole population, which is greater, perhaps, in Cuba alone than

in all the other islands of the Archipelago combined. The foreign merchants, who are chiefly either English or Americans, Germans, or French, can only be regarded as transient visitors, not having gone there, as the law says, *animo remanendi*, but merely for the purpose of accumulating such a fortune as will enable them to live with some degree of comfort at home. Although not wealthy as a class, they are almost all in the full enjoyment of credit,—a state of things which naturally results from the high degree of prosperity which every where prevails.

In the ordinary course of things, the emigrant from the peninsula begins the world in some inferior commercial capacity; but, as he possesses little of the activity or the enterprise of the natives of North America, in place of persisting in his mercantile pursuits, as soon as he has acquired a little capital, he lays it out in forming a plantation, which is probably destined in the course of time to be peopled and extended by his descendants, of whom the chief will assume the rank and station of the *Hacendado*.

The year 1836 was more remarkable for the amount of white emigration than any previous year. According to the official returns it amounted to 8061, of whom 1004 were from the United States, 347 from Mexico and other parts of America, 3769 from Spain, 2690 from the Canaries, 170 from France, and 81 from England and other parts of Europe. As a considerable number of these consisted of persons who had previously left the island,

the real increase of the white population within the year cannot well be stated higher than 6500; and even from this last number a large deduction must be made, in consequence of the ravages committed by the cholera, and the malignant fever of the country, especially among the Irish labourers from the United States, and the natives of the Canaries, who came to work on the railroad. Of the 3769 from Spain, 1078 were convicts and 866 recruits; but such of the *Isleños* as have survived are likely to become permanent settlers. The ordinary price of a cabin passage from England to the Havana is stated by her Majesty's consul to be about twenty pounds, and a steerage passage from eight to twelve pounds. The numbers of the arrivals in the years 1837 and 1838 were not officially announced at the time of my leaving the island, but they were understood to be considerably less than those for the year 1836.

There has been no regular census of the whole population since the year 1827, when it amounted, including whites, free negroes, free people of colour, and slaves, and also including the troops, the crews of vessels in the harbours, the followers of both, and other transient persons, to 730,562. Of this number the whites amounted to 311,051, the free negroes to 57,514, and the free people of colour not negroes to 48,980; so that, in spite of the constant accessions to the slave population by importation from the coast of Africa, they are represented by the official census as being greatly outnumbered, not merely by the free classes taken collectively, but by the white

population alone. The number of slaves in the island is given in the printed returns at 286,942, of whom 183,290 are stated to be males, and 103,652 to be females. However great this discrepancy between the sexes may appear, it is, in point of fact, not nearly so great as that which is borne out by my own personal observation and researches. In fact I have very little confidence in this department of the official returns, as, among the many estates which I visited, I had not the good fortune to meet with one where the proportion between the sexes was so favourable as that given in the census of 1827. It is notorious that there are individual estates in the island with 600 or 700 negroes upon them, from which the softer sex is entirely excluded. In this respect I am bound to say that the Creole proprietors evince much more regard for the laws of humanity than the emigrant planters from Spain and the United States. It is in fact but justice to others to signalise the case of a certain Mr. Baker, from the United States, who has established himself in the neighbourhood of Cienfuegos on an estate where he has congregated no less than 700 male negroes, to the exclusion of a single female, locking up the men, during the short period allowed for needful rest, in a building called a barracoon, which is in fact, to all intents and purposes, a prison.

Since 1827, the general population has undoubtedly increased to a very considerable amount. As far as regards the free inhabitants, this is proved on the most cursory observation by the exorbitant rents which are obtained for houses in towns, not-

withstanding the vast numbers which have constantly been building. At the Havana it is not unusual to pay as much as 300*l.* sterling a year for a house of not more than five or six rooms; and even then the indispensable *volante* must stand in the lobby or under the gateway, and not unfrequently in the principal sitting-room, for the reception of visitors.

The increased amount of imports during the last ten or twelve years, the formation of new plantations, and the augmented production of the island, as shown by the exports, are so many additional adminicles of evidence in favour of a greatly increased population. Taking that increase in a ratio corresponding to the augmentation which is shown to have taken place between the dates of the two last census, that is between 1817 and 1827, the white population at the time of my visit in 1839 ought to have been about 400,000 souls. Mr. Tolmé, the British consul at the Havana, who has applied himself to this subject with the intelligence and discrimination for which he is distinguished, has given it as his opinion that within the last twelve years there has been no great increase in the numbers of the free negroes, or of the free people of colour. It is true that, under the operation of the law which entitles a slave to have himself valued, and to purchase his freedom by degrees, paying a sixth part of the estimate, that he may be his own master one day in the week, another sixth for a second day, and so on in succession, until he has accomplished his complete

redemption; it might have been expected that the result would have been highly favourable to the practical extension of freedom; yet, in the opinion of the consul, these *coartados*, as they are called, are in the aggregate so numerically insignificant, as not sensibly to affect the total amount of the black and coloured population, which was previously free.

If the slave has been purchased, the price originally paid for him is all that he can be required to pay for his redemption. When a portion of his time is redeemed, the master can only exact from him one real a day, for every hundred dollars of the balance of his ascertained value. These conditions of the Spanish law are undoubtedly conceived in a liberal and merciful spirit, at once satisfying the master, stimulating the energies of the slave, and knocking off his chains, as it were, link by link. Unhappily, in practice, they have not proved very effective; but it is perfectly understood at the Havana, that the best domestic servants are such as have thus accomplished, or are in the course of working out, their own emancipation.

It has been asserted that there has been, within these few years, a large exportation of slaves from the island of Cuba to the new republic of Texas, on the other side of the Gulf of Mexico; but on this point the consular authorities at the Havana are far from being agreed. Mr. Tolmé is of opinion that the number of slaves exported is very inconsiderable; while the Dutch consul-

general, Mr. Lobé, has stated it as high as 15,000 in a single year. Just before my departure for the West Indies I happened to be resident in Paris, where the Chevalier Lobé chanced to meet, in my apartments, with the Conde de Campuzano, then her Catholic Majesty's ambassador at the court of the Tuileries. This accidental rencontre gave rise to a very interesting discussion, in the course of which the Dutch consul-general made some very free remarks on the conduct of the cabinet of Madrid with reference to the slave trade, while his Excellency the Spanish ambassador defended his government as earnestly and as well as was possible under the circumstances. Mr. Lobé having since made his statement public, there can be no breach of confidence or delicacy in repeating the substance of this conversation. At the same time I am more disposed to agree with the opinion of the British consul than with that of his Dutch colleague, as to the amount of the exportation to Texas; although there must always be a strong temptation to justify Mr. Lobé's estimate, to some extent at least, in the well-known fact, that the price of a slave at Houston or Galveston is three or four times as great as it ever is at the Havana, although the capital of the new republic is within a few days' sail of the island.

It is extremely difficult to arrive at any just conclusion as to the recent increase of the slave population. If we take the official returns as the basis of our estimate, we shall find that the numbers

given in 1817 are 199,145, and 286,942 in 1827. During this interval of ten years, it was estimated by the British commissioners of that period, as may be seen from the parliamentary papers, that the number of slaves imported from Africa was 130,797, showing an annual average of 13,079, which, if I may judge from the events which occurred under my own observation, I cannot consider an exaggerated statement. If then we add the number thus given, as imported, to the census of 1817, w find a total of 329,942 which would show an excess during the ten years of deaths over births of 43,000, which makes a loss of 13 per cent. on the ten years. This loss, however, is very far indeed from being equivalent to the average loss admitted by the managers or mayorals on the numerous estates which I made it my business to visit. On sugar properties that average amounted to the appalling proportion of ten per cent. per annum, or cent. per cent. per decade, thus inferring the necessity of a total renewal of the numbers by importation in the course of the ten years.

If we proceed on the same principle, and apply the same rule to the cycle of ten years immediately subsequent to the census of 1827, we shall find that the estimate of importation by the parliamentary commissioners amounts to 122,500, which, added to the numbers of the last census, would give a total of 409,492; from which if we deduct 13 per cent., the excess formerly supposed of deaths over births, we make the slave population of the island, in 1837, to have amounted in round numbers

to 356,000. I am far from being satisfied, however, with the accuracy of the old estimate of mortality; and if that should prove erroneous, it would equally establish a fallacy in the estimated amount of importation; which is certainly much greater than that here given, although probably not so great as many of the sincere and honest supporters of the cause of abolition have been led to suppose.

Even on the supposition that the general and local governments are earnest and sincere in their endeavours to obtain correct returns of the slave population, it is not to be denied that there are many difficulties to be overcome, before any thing like accuracy can be arrived at, in this department of the census. Upon the whole, therefore, I am disposed to adopt the conclusions of Mr. Consul Tolmé, who proposes that at the close of the year 1838, the white population should be taken at 400,000, the free people of colour of all shades, at 110,000, and the slaves at 360,000; making the aggregate 870,000, or in round numbers, 900,000 souls. There are some Spanish authorities who make the whole population amount to a million, of whom 600,000 are supposed to be either free people of colour, or slaves.

In the anxiety of the government to balance one class of the population against another, we find in the official documents connected with the census of 1827, some details which will probably be interesting to the general reader. Between the white males, and the free male negroes, the pro-

portion is given as 601 are to 100, or 6·01 : 1. Between the white males and the free male people of colour, exclusive of negroes, 705 to 100, or 7·05 : 1. Between the white males, and the other freemen, whether of pure negro blood, or of the mixed race, 324 to 100, or 3·24 : 1. Between the white males, and the whole of the male slaves, of whatever shade, as 92 are to 100, or ·92 : 1. Between the white males, and the whole of the coloured males, slaves or free, the negroes included, as 71 are to 100, or, ·71 : 1. Between the whole white population, and the whole free coloured population, free negroes included, the population is stated at 292 to 100, or 2·92 : 1. Between the whole white population, and the whole slave population, 108 to 100, or 1·08 : 1. Between the whole white population and the rest of the community, whether in servitude or free, as 79 are to 100, or ·79 : 1.

The free male negroes, as compared with the freemen of mixed blood, are stated to be 117 to 100, or 1·17 : 1. The free coloured males, whether negroes or mulattoes, are in proportion to the male slaves, as 22 to 100, or ·22 : 1, and the whole free population to the whole slave population as 145 to 100, or 1·45 : 1.

There is another way of arriving at some idea of the actual increase in the numbers of the labouring population, which does not seem to have occurred to any of the Spanish writers, official or non-official, on the statistics of the island; but which, although it does not give a result that can be re-

ferred to as mathematically accurate, affords at least a check on the errors of our other sources of information.

The agricultural and industrial produce of the island, as shown by the authenticated returns, may probably be relied on, as less liable to suspicion than any official statement of the amount of the negro population. By comparing the amount of the gross produce at two different periods, we ought to arrive pretty nearly at the relative amount of the labouring or slave population. As a further check, a similar comparison may be instituted between the imports of one period and those of another, particularly in articles of the first necessity, such as the *tasajo* or jerked beef, and the salted cod-fish, which enter so largely into the food of the labouring population.

Thus the sugar exported in 1837, the date of the latest official return, amounted to 9,060, 053 arrobas of twenty-five pounds each, whereas, in the year 1829, the earliest period for which I could find a corresponding return, the exports of sugar did not exceed 6,588,428 arrobas. In the same way, the exports of coffee, which in 1837 were 2,133,567 arrobas, in 1829 did not exceed 1,736,257 arrobas, so that the increase of the two principal staples exported in the course of these eight years, has been nearly thirty per cent.

If we compare the total value of the exports for the two years in question, we shall find the difference still more remarkable, having amounted in 1837, to $ 20,346,407, and in 1829 to no more

than $13,952,405, showing an increase in value of 32 per cent.

The jerked beef imported in 1837 amounted to 800,500 arrobas, and the salted codfish to 408,308 arrobas; whereas, in the year 1829, the imports of *tasajo* amounted only to 536,678 arrobas, and of bacalao or codfish to 323,696 arrobas, showing an increase of upwards of 40 per cent., which either proves that the labouring population are greatly increased in numbers, or that they are much better fed than they were ten years ago. This last amelioration I can scarcely believe possible, if I may judge from the minuteness of the rations of animal food allowed to the negroes, on the most liberally conducted of the estates which I had myself an opportunity of visiting.

There is still another mode of estimating the amount of the Bozal importation, which is by assuming the number of vessels arriving under the Portuguese flag, as stated in the official returns to be correct, and then assigning the nearest average we can find, when multiplied by that number, as the sum total of the year's importation. The British consul gives the average of each cargo at 300 souls —only think of a cargo of souls!—and as there were seventy-eight acknowledged arrivals under the Portuguese flag in 1837, one of which only received or discharged any lawful cargo, we obtain the number of 23,100. In that year, also, according to the report of the British commissioners, three slavers arrived under the Spanish flag, and assuming their load of souls to be equal to that of the Portuguese, we reach

the astounding total of 24,000. Taking the wholesale price at 300 dollars a head, which is twenty dollars less than the average of the market during my stay in the island, the capital engaged in the traffic could not have fallen short of $ 7,200,000, or, in round numbers, 1,500,000*l.* sterling.

There cannot be a doubt that the slave trade is on the increase, in spite of all the exertions that are made to suppress it. The reports of the commissioners at the Havana for the last slaving season, from October 1838, to March 1839, are truly appalling. It is to be hoped that the reason assigned by the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, for the comparative inactivity of the squadron on the coast of Africa, will be supported by such a harvest of prizes during the present season, as to visit the men who employ their capital in this traffic with "a heavy blow, and a great discouragement." It appears that the epidemic which originated at Sierra Leone, and proved so fatal there in 1837, had found its way on board the squadron, and raged in almost every vessel, connected with it, long after it had disappeared from the colony, incapacitating them from all active exertion, or driving them from their cruising grounds to Ascension, St. Helena, and the Cape.

In furtherance of the policy pursued by the peninsular government for the maintenance of the slave trade, as a growing check on the known desire of the Creoles for independence, the captain-general, and his subordinate functionaries all over the island, have been authorised to levy a tax on

the importation of negroes, which, at the lowest computation, must produce a very considerable revenue. The sum levied from the importer is in every case a doubloon, which is equal to 3*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* sterling; but at the Havana there is a very prevalent error, that the whole produce of the tax goes into the pocket of the captain-general, which, if true, would make his situation enormously lucrative. In point of fact, however, the ounce of gold is divided into four equal portions, one of which only is pocketed by the captain-general, while a second goes to the captain of the *Resguardia*, or coast-guard, a third to the harbour-master of the port or district where the landing is effected, and a fourth to the *Administrador de Aduana*, or local chief of the customs; so that the captain-general's interest is equal to that of one whole class of these functionaries throughout his jurisdiction. It was not without difficulty that I met with the necessary evidence of these details; but at length I obtained it from persons who had themselves been engaged in the traffic, either individually on a large scale, or as *Actionnaires*, or sharers in a common enterprise. In the remote districts of the island,— as, for instance, at Cienfuegos, in the neighbourhood of which some thirty or forty sugar estates have been formed and peopled for the most part with imported Africans, within the last three or four years, —there is much less difficulty in the way of arriving at authentic details, than either at the Havana, or the older settled districts, where the money is paid from habit, as a matter of course, and as to its application "no questions are asked."

But although substantially a tax, inasmuch as it would not be easy to evade its payment where so many public functionaries, selected expressly for the facilities they enjoy in watching over it, are directly interested in its produce, it does not appear to be authorised by any positive enactment of the Spanish legislature, or even by a royal decree; at least the parties who pay it have never yet succeeded in obtaining any thing in the nature of a receipt or other written acknowledgment for the money.

CHAP. VIII.

THE SLAVE TRADE. — THE EMANCIPADOS. — THE PORTUGUESE FLAG. — AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE. — TACON'S ADMINISTRATION. — SPANISH POLICY. — FEAR OF INSURRECTION. — DESIRE OF INDEPENDENCE. — MEANS PROPOSED. — EPIGRAM. — AMERICAN AGGRANDISEMENT.

In spite of the law lately passed by the British parliament, subjecting the flag of Portugal to the same liabilities and restrictions as had been consented to by treaty with other civilised nations, it is greatly to be feared that, as long as such enormous profits are realised in the African slave trade, that standing outrage on the laws of humanity will remain as black a blot as before on the annals of the nineteenth century. The stars and stripes of the United States are probably destined to serve as a cover to these dark transactions, until the president of the Union, with the concurrence of the senate, shall be shamed into a reluctant recognition of the philanthropic principles by which the government of England, prompted and pushed on by the unanimous voice of the people, has so long been actuated. The refusal of the Americans to sanction a mutual right of search, will make it safer for a slaver to sail under their flag, than under that of any of the governments — Spain, Portugal, or the Brazils — most deeply implicated in the crime. It remains to be seen, how long the civi-

lised world will submit to the sanction thus tacitly afforded by this single power, to a practice so strongly disavowed by all civilised nations, and so revolting to humanity.

The commanders of British cruisers on the coast of Africa, have doubtless been provided with the necessary instructions, to justify them in capturing and bringing in for condemnation all such vessels pretending to be Portuguese as they may meet with, furnished with Portuguese papers, and sailing under the Portuguese flag. It is well known that these clippers, as they are called, are almost all built at Baltimore, where the ship carpenters have acquired no small reputation, for the sailing qualities of that class of vessels best suited to the slave trade. It can scarcely be believed that this local interest is sufficient to induce the government of the United States to refuse its accession to the principles of the league, which the British government has been pressing so earnestly on the acceptance of all the maritime powers of Christendom, for the suppression of the trade; and yet none of the other great naval powers have thought of objecting to it, on the score of its involving the slightest national degradation.

On comparing the extent of coast on the continent of Africa, within which the trading barbarians find the means of purchasing cargoes from the native savages, with the corresponding extent of coast of those countries where the sales are effected, it will be found that the line on which the debarkations take place, comprising Cuba, Porto

Rico, and the Brazils alone, without including the suspected coasts of Texas, Louisiana, Alabama and Florida, is more considerable by at least 1500 or 2000 miles than that on which the shipments are obtained. It is worthy of consideration, therefore, whether the great object of suppression might not be more effectually and more cheaply attained, by confining the attention of our cruisers to the coast of Africa, and there accumulating all the force we can afford to maintain for the accomplishment of an object so ardently and unanimously desired by her Majesty's subjects in all parts of the world.

Until the total suppression is finally achieved, it is not to be doubted that seizures will be made by our cruisers, that sentences of condemnation will be pronounced by the several courts of mixed commission as well as by our own courts of admiralty, and that numerous captives will remain for disposal, if not for prompt emancipation.

According to the old system, these unfortunate captives, although nominally free, were instantly hurried into an abyss of misery more deplorable and more desperate than that of the regularly imported African; who, if his lot be cast in Cuba, is destined within ten years to die of excessive labour, starvation, and the lash, that the people of Russia and the United States, the chief purchasers of the produce of that island, may drink their coffee, and sweeten it more cheaply. If emancipated at the Havana, the seat of one of the mixed commissions, they were formerly handed over to the Spanish authorities who hired them out for seven years to the

best bidder. The necessary consequence was, that the party who engaged their services had not even an interest in keeping them alive after the lapse of that period, and lay under no obligation, either legal or conventional, to support them when disabled by sickness or accident. The very name by which the unhappy survivors are distinguished has thus become a term of reproach; and if you ask your pampered household slave at the Havana who some wretched creature may be that has appealed to you for charity, he will answer you with a sneer, that he is an English "Emancipado." All those who outlived this first term of apprenticeship fell back into the hands of the local authorities, who did not scruple to hire them out for a second period of seven years, in the course of which their condition was as hopeless, and their daily and nightly toil as totally unrequited, as before.

On the departure of Captain-General Tacon, he caused a memoir to be published in defence of the measures of his administration; but as the strict censorship of the press was interposed to prevent the circulation of any answer to it, the laudatory statements it contains are not entitled to much attention. Governor Tacon was accused of deriving a rich revenue, not merely from the contraband importation of slaves, but from the disposal of the services of such as had been liberated under the judgments of the court of mixed commission. At first it was understood that these Emancipados were not to be sent out of the Havana, in order to afford them a better chance of acquiring some of the elements of

civilisation during the period of their apprenticeship; and I have been assured that this rule was enforced during the administration of Vives and Ricafort. When Tacon assumed the administration, their numbers had become so great, or the temptation of profit was so powerful that the old rule was abandoned, and the poor Emancipados were sold to the highest bidder. The regular price obtained, as I have been assured on good authority, was from three to six ounces of gold for women, and from six to ten ounces for men; and these prices having acquired a certain fixed character, although low when compared with the value of the contraband article, it was found to be at once a saving of time, and a source of patronage to the captain-general, to transfer them in masses to some favoured individual, who derived a handsome profit by disposing of them in detail. These particulars would no longer have any present interest, and might be consigned to the care of the historian, if it were not for the fact that the same monstrous abuse of the word "emancipation" prevails to this day at Rio de Janeiro, where the so-called apprenticeship is made to extend to fourteen years in place of seven. It would be still better for the poor Emancipado, if his apprenticeship were made to extend to the term of his natural life; or, as the Texians manage it, to the more definite period of 100 years; as in either case his master would not have the same interest in working him to death prematurely.

Mr. Young, the colonial secretary at Demerara, was sent to the Havana by the late Sir James Carmichael Smyth, on a special mission to ascertain the

number and condition of these Emancipados, and, if possible, to obtain their services as articled servants for the important colony under his Excellency's government. In his official report of the unsuccessful result of his mission, Mr. Young fell into the mistake of supposing that a register of slaves was kept in the island of Cuba, and under that impression, he made a very tolerable guess at the fate of the Emancipados by supposing that when vacancies occurred in the lists of predial slaves, the Emancipados were made to supply their place.

In the communications of the successive captains-general with the British commissioners, they had been accustomed to complain of danger to the tranquillity of the island, from the increasing numbers of these people, thrown from time to time into their hands, as often as a slaver with a cargo on board was condemned as lawful prize by the court. It was in consequence of these complaints, not always very sincere, combined with the reports of her Majesty's judge and arbitrator, as to the miserable condition of the captives after their pretended liberation, that the British government was induced to appoint an officer to reside at the Havana, whose special duty it should be to watch over the interests of this unfortunate class of persons, and provide for their reception in one or other of her Majesty's colonies. It would have been idle, of course, to have attempted to restore them to the family and the home from which they had been torn; and it was not therefore easy to suggest a better arrangement for their future welfare.

The choice of the government in filling this office of superintendent of liberated Africans fell, to the great credit of Lord Glenelg, on Dr. Richard Robert Madden, a gentleman well known in the literary world, who had distinguished himself for his kindness to the African race while performing the arduous duties of a special or stipendiary magistrate in Jamaica. It would be well for the British colonies, and for the British people in general, if offices in the gift of the crown were more frequently bestowed, as in this case, according to the moral fitness of the candidate, and with less regard to the patronage or the parliamentary influence by which he has been recommended.

The most windward position in the British West Indies, Demerara, was the point I had chosen for the commencement of my tour. I arrived there in the month of January 1838, and found the governor making some head way against the flood of opposition which he had to contend with in the court of policy. Following the old Dutch system, it is the practice in this colony for the governor to preside at the meetings of the legislative body, and it was in consequence of the excitement produced at one of these meetings, arising out of the opposition by the non-official members of the court, to a grant of land which the governor had been induced to make to Mr. Secretary Young, that his Excellency was seized with congestion of the brain, of which he died after a few hours' illness. A very short time before his death, I had some communication with his Excel-

lency on the subject of a renewal of the negotiation at the Havana, for a further supply of labour for Demerara, where, for many reasons I was persuaded that the Emancipados would enjoy a prospect of being treated more liberally than in any of our other colonies. The labour of sugar making is every where severe; and where deep trenching and cleaning out canals is constantly required, as in the swampy districts of British Guiana, it may possibly be as heavy as that of cutting down mahogany on our settlements in the bay of Honduras, to which so many of these liberated Africans have from time to time found their way. In consequence, however, of the high wages which the Demerara planters can afford to pay, this work in the ditches was always cheerfully performed. As may be seen from the relative value fixed by the commissioners of compensation under the abolition act, those of Honduras and Demerara stood the highest, thus proving that the demand for labour was greater in these colonies than in any of our other West India possessions, and the colonists could therefore afford to pay higher wages and make larger allowances than elsewhere to their labourers, whether slaves, apprentices, or articled servants. I was moreover assured that the fund provided for the medical care and general maintenance of the labourer, before the execution of the indenture, was higher in British Guiana than in our other colonies; that the scale of food and allowances was more advantageous; that the indenture, in case of ill treatment, was more readily

cancelled; that while it remained in force the wages were higher; and that even after its expiration the demand for labour, and, consequently, its remuneration, would, in all probability, be more considerable than elsewhere.

On these grounds I was very much disposed to favour the views of Sir James Carmichael Smyth, but his excellency's death having occurred so suddenly, before his plans and intentions were fully matured, I found myself obliged to leave the colony without waiting for the arrival of his successor. I did not, however, forget the subject on my arrival at the Havana; but in the mean time the equipment clause in the treaty with Spain having come into full operation, I found that the trade had for some time been carried on almost exclusively under the flag of Portugal; the delinquents were no longer liable to the jurisdiction of the mixed commission; the condemnations had consequently ceased, and no more liberated Africans were placed at the disposal of the superintendent.

The effect of the law lately passed by the British legislature, subjecting the Portuguese flag without the consent of that government to the same penalties which had previously been agreed to by Spain, under the equipment clause of the treaty, will probably be in due time to relieve her Majesty's commissioners and the other British functionaries at the Havana from the state of listlessness and inaction in which they have for some time been placed. As the risk of capture and condemnation will henceforth be equal, whether the flag and the

papers of the adventurers in this traffic be Spanish or Portuguese, it will be no longer for their interest to incur the expense and the loss of time of proceeding in the first instance to some Portuguese settlement, in order to effect a fictitious change in their registry. Independent of this saving of time and money, they will even be more safe with Spanish than with Portuguese papers, as in the one case, in the invariable event of a clashing of opinion in the Spanish court of mixed commission, they would have the benefit of that sort of lottery which guides the court in the choice of its arbitrator, and of course in its ultimate decision; whereas if the prize has been taken under a Portuguese flag or with Portuguese papers, she would probably be sent for adjudication to one of our own courts of admiralty, where I have not yet heard that the dice-box has been introduced or judicially appealed to. In coming to this conclusion, I take it for granted that the government of the United States, from a mere sense of shame if from no better motive, will be induced to put an end to the abuse of their flag, which, as I have elsewhere shown, has been made a cover and protection to a large and increasing proportion of the African slave-trade.

Competition between our various colonies for a participation in the supply of labour, which under the operation of the new law will be placed at the disposal of the superintendent of liberated Africans, can only have the effect of improving the condition of the unfortunate captive. It will be the duty

not more surely than it will be the pleasure of that officer to act as his friend, protector, and advocate. Honduras, Demerara, and Trinidad, the colonies where wages are highest and labour is most in demand, will probably find it for their respective interests to have permanent agents at the Havana, instructed to offer such terms to the superintendent in regard to wages, food, raiment, lodging, medical attendance, the shortness of the term of the indenture, and other advantages to the labourer, as may seem best calculated to induce a preference in favour of each individual colony. The consequence will probably be a great and progressive amelioration in the condition of a class of persons, whose irreparable misfortunes call so loudly for consideration and sympathy.

It was in the year 1835 that Don Miguel Tacon assumed the functions of Captain-General and Viceroy of the Island. At the end of the first year of his administration, he published a sort of manifesto, in which he took credit to himself for the public works he had commenced, and for the improvements already achieved by his vigorous system of police. "Public tranquillity, good order, and individual security," he says, "have been consolidated in a manner that partakes of the marvellous. The mounted police doing duty on the highways, and in the country towns of the island, meet no longer with thieves to apprehend, nor with malefactors of any sort to place at the disposal of the magistrate. Our fields and villages, which were formerly the scenes of all sorts of crimes, and es-

pecially of robbery and murder, are now the delightful abode of tranquillity and peace." The results he anticipates from this altered state of things, to the full credit of which he is justly entitled, are, that it would induce vast numbers of foreigners to settle in the island; thus adding at once to the public wealth, and to the numerical force of the white population, on which alone their personal security is supposed to depend; and more especially that it would bring back those wealthy visiters from North America, who formerly came in crowds to Cuba in quest of health or recreation, but who had for some time been deterred by the fear of the dagger of the assassin.

It has often been asked why the governments of every form which have succeeded each other in the Peninsula, the adherents of the *Rey absoluto*, the advocates for the *despotismo illustrado*, the authors of the *estatuto real*, and the admirers of the constitution in all its various forms, should with such invariable uniformity, and without any very obvious interest, have pertinaciously persevered, in defiance of treaties, and in forgetfulness or disregard of the vast sums of money they have received from England, as the price of abolition, in resisting the abatement of a nuisance in the eye of humanity, and the extinction of the foulest blot that remains to disgrace the civilised portion of our race.

The solution of this enigma is to be found in the belief, which is far from being groundless, that the Creole proprietors of the soil of Cuba are weary of the yoke of the mother-country, from which they

receive no advantage or protection, in exchange for the heavy contributions they are called on to pay. They naturally look with envy on the happier condition of the proprietors in the neighbouring islands under British dominion, who, so far from being taxed for the benefit of a distant government, are provided with troops sufficient for the security of a white population, not numbering more than ten to the hundred of the people of darker complexions.

In Cuba, on the contrary, the numbers of the two classes are even now so nearly equal, that the whites would have little to fear from a servile insurrection. Proprietors of estates, with their full complement of labourers, and with a fair proportion of women and children, have, in fact, no sort of interest in the maintenance of the slave-trade, or rather, I ought to say that their interest lies all the other way, and that they would greatly benefit by its instant and perpetual suppression. On this subject I have had the means of communicating much at large with many of the most enlightened Creole proprietors, and I believe myself in no danger of falling into error, when I say, that I am now speaking their sincere and genuine sentiments in declaring, that the highest and the best of them desire, as devoutly as ever did a Clarkson or a Wilberforce, the immediate, total, and immutable abolition of the slave-trade.

It is not my business in this place to inquire into their motives, or compare them with those of our own philanthropists. Pecuniary considerations in the one case may have done what the love of dis-

tinction and the interests of party may equally have prompted in the other. It is quite certain that the interests of the proprietor of a well-managed and fully-peopled estate in the island of Cuba are all in favour of the suppression of the slave-trade. His land, his slaves, and his produce would instantly increase in value to an amount which it is not easy to define. A slave at the Havana would be at least equal in value to a slave at New Orleans, and now the difference is as $300 are to $1500. Suppose him to have 500 slaves, and their value would instantly rise from $150,000 to $750,000.

But it is the policy of the court of Madrid to keep the island of Cuba in her dependence; and this, it is supposed, can only be done effectually by the salutary terror inspired by the presence of a numerous, half-savage negro-population. The existence of such a population seems at once to justify and require the presence of a peninsular army, which, under the command of a Captain-General enjoying the confidence of the court, and zealously aided by a numerous train of public functionaries and *empleados*, produces such a pressure on Creole interests, as to have hitherto deterred the native inhabitants from any open attempt to assert their independence. These public functionaries, with scarcely an exception, are Europeans by birth, and therefore decidedly opposed to a separation which would instantly deprive them of all their emoluments.

The peninsular system, as it is called, engenders discontent in various ways, and is rapidly preparing the minds of the Creole population for the dissolu-

tion of a connection which entails on them so many burdens without even the show of compensation. They have long been looking about them for the means of relief, and not knowing where to find it, they continue reluctantly to toil under the yoke. At one time they thought of connecting themselves with one or other of the provinces of Spain on the neighbouring continent, which have since successfully asserted their independence; and at another, they proposed to offer themselves to the United States of North America, with the view of being admitted a member of the Union; they would then have shone as a star with its corresponding stripe, in that spangled banner which the illustrious poet of Hope, and defender of freedom, has immortalised in one of the bitterest epigrams which the English language has produced: —

"United States, your banner wears
Two emblems, one of fame;
Alas! the other that it bears
Reminds us of your shame!

The white man's liberty in types
Stands blazon'd by your stars;
But what's the meaning of the stripes?
They mean your negroes' scars!"

Their last, and best, and present desire, however, is, when the time for separation arrives, that their entire independence, as a separate state, should be jointly guaranteed by France and England; in which case they flatter themselves, that while their own liberties would be secured, they would become the willing, though, perhaps, the passive, instrument for bringing about the suppression of a traffic at which humanity shudders.

This, I dare say, is as far as the Cuba proprietors are yet prepared to go. The time will come, however, and is not perhaps far distant, when their consent may be obtained to the gradual abolition of slavery itself.

It is not to be doubted that brother Jonathan has long been casting a wistful eye on this, the richest gem in the Western Ocean. Since my visit to the Havana, I have made a journey of some ten thousand miles through his far-spread territory, and have every where perceived how sweet a tooth he showed for this land of sugar-plums. At the close of the last session of Congress I spent a month in Washington; and during the outrageous debates on the boundary question, which have never been fully or faithfully reported, I was in daily attendance in the House of Representatives, or the Senate, in order to witness their proceedings; and was often induced to lengthen my stay for the purpose of observing to what length of extravagance the members would suffer themselves to go. In the more popular body I heard one man, the representative of one of the Carolinas, who is styled by courtesy a General, get up in his place and say, that he was for open and immediate war, without waiting for the running of lines, or the issue of idle negotiations. And what was he to do, think you, when he declared war against England, or broke ground without any declaration? Why the first thing he was to do was, to take possession of the island of Cuba; the next was, quietly to annex the young republic of Texas to the

Union; and, in the third place, by way of seriously commencing the struggle, he was to send an army, with himself doubtless at its head, across the lakes or the St. Lawrence, to drive out the British intruders on the soil of his own continent, and convert it into one vast arena for the enjoyment of so much liberty as is consistent with "the peculiar institutions of the south." As this gentleman's rhapsody was received with the most rapturous applause, and as the two Houses were all but unanimous in proclaiming their eagerness for a fresh struggle with Great Britain on the boundary question, it is difficult to doubt that the first aspiration of the Carolina representative is also the first wish of the majority of his countrymen. It was not easy to restrain a smile at the vehement tone of his oration, and the extravagant gestures with which it was enforced; but both would have been strangely damped, had any one whispered the word "Seminoles" in his ear, and recalled to his recollection that, for several years, within a few hours' sail of Cuba, the whole military force of the Union has been fruitlessly employed in the attempt to subdue a mere handful of naked barbarians.

CHAP. IX.

COAL MINES. — STEAM IN THE WEST INDIES. — CUBA STEAMERS. — STEAMERS LANDING SLAVES. — HAVANA RAILROAD. — A GLORIOUS INHERITANCE. — GUINES. — LABOURERS ON THE RAILWAY. — IRISH LABOURERS. — RAILWAY LOAN. — UNITED STATES' RIVALRY. — RAILWAY TARIFF. — PRODUCE OF THE RAILWAY. — BRANCHES. — CARDENAS RAILWAY.

THE discovery of coal within a few miles of the Havana bears already the promise of results in the highest degree advantageous to the future prosperity of the island. I did not fail to visit one of the mines that had been opened, and found the supply so abundant, and so near the surface, that I could not help expressing my surprise to the proprietor, who was good enough to accompany me, that the people of the Havana should have such a treasure within their reach; that it should have remained so long undiscovered; and that they should now be so slow to avail themselves of the advantages which it offered to their acceptance. The construction of ten miles of road, practicable for wheel carriages at all seasons of the year, is almost all that is necessary. The coal is very highly bituminous, affords a strong heat, and on combustion leaves very little solid residue in the form of ashes or cinders. The business in which the proprietor is engaged, as a smith and founder in the Havana, attracted his attention to

the subject, from the large quantities of fuel he required and the great expense he incurred of importing it from England. Although the means of descending the pit were far from being commodious, I did not hesitate to get into a bucket and explore the workings.

At the place where the shaft was sunk, the coal was found at the depth of twenty feet, but for some unexplained reason, the proprietor, instead of clearing away the superincumbent strata, and working the mine like a quarry, as I ventured to recommend, had been induced to sink his shaft so deep, that from the angle at which it lay with the horizon, he was in a fair way of leaving it behind without arriving at the desired knowledge of the amount of the treasure he possessed. It was after descending to the depth of 120 feet, that he was stopped by other appearances, and from that point he began to drive horizontal galleries round the bottom of his shaft. On three sides he met with nothing but coal, but on the fourth he found the black slate-like stone on which it rested. Concluding that coal in the New World would present itself in the same basin-like form in which it is found in the Old, I suggested to the proprietor, from the angle of inclination I had observed in the mine, that the edge of the basin would probably be found within a short distance exposed to the surface.

In travelling along the neglected highway or *camino real*, which passes through his property, I thought I had observed at a particular spot some indications of coal in the deep ruts which had been

formed by his waggons, during the previous rainy season; and on bringing some of his miners to the spot, a few blows of the pickaxe soon verified my hasty conjecture, and established beyond a doubt that there exists within ten miles of the Havana a quarry of coal at least a hundred feet deep, and how much deeper no man can tell, which may be excavated with perfect ease from the surface. In such circumstances, it is of course absurd for the miners to go on working their present galleries at the depth of 120 feet, bringing up, in all probability, an inferior sort of coal from the edge of the mine, while the material sought for presents itself in the face of day, without requiring the aid of the very imperfect machinery which has been erected for raising it, and for drawing off the water which of course accumulates at the bottom.

The specific gravity of the Cuba coal is not nearly so great as the lightest Shields or Newcastle. The fibres it presents are probably those of the fern, which grows to the size of trees of the first class within the tropics; in the smaller islands of the West Indies the varieties are even more numerous than on the continent, or in islands of greater superficial extent. I was not so fortunate as to meet with any good impression of these plants on the specimens of the schistose formation subjacent to the coal which I made it my business to collect; but, with more leisure and attention, I have no doubt they could be found in great variety and with very little trouble. It would be not a little interesting to have the means of establishing a

comparison between the living and fossil members of this extensive family.

The pitch lake in our own island of Trinidad has not yet been examined with any care. On many parts of its surface the pitch, or asphaltum, approaches often to the liquid state of petroleum, when the sun is near the meridian, but never certainly to justify the name of lake or lagoon, which has been given to it, unless the pools of water which are formed on its surface after rains deserve that appellation. After numerous unsuccessful experiments, the pitch of Trinidad was turned to excellent account at the time of my visit to that island by an enterprising sugar planter, M. La Perouse, the lineal descendant of the celebrated French discoverer. Finding it extremely difficult in that damp climate to dry the refuse of the sugar cane called *megass* or *bagasse* sufficiently for the purposes of fuel, M. La Perouse resorted to the expedient of mixing such a quantity of the pitch with his damp *bagasse* as made both burn together; although it was extremely difficult to provoke combustion in either, when attempted separately. The one substance seemed to supply just what the other wanted. In the solid pitch of Trinidad there is no appearance of fibrous matter; at least it is not by any means so well defined as in the coal of Cuba, as is obvious to any one who compares the specimens of both in my possession. The experiments which I witnessed at the sugar works of M. La Perouse were perfectly successful; and I have very little doubt that many of the intelligent planters of Trinidad have ever since been following his example.

The coal of Cuba, and still more the pitch of Trinidad, contain bituminous matter to excess, and a small portion of either would in all probability facilitate ignition, or the commencement of combustion, which the Americans find so difficult with their anthracite coal.

The patriotic society of the Havana, as the very nature of the subject required, have taken it up warmly, and in the absence of funds with which to promote the working of the coal mines, have done as much as lay within their sphere by analysing the mineral, and otherwise provoking investigation. Under the eye of the learned presidents of the agricultural and industrial sections of the society, Don Juan Augustin de Ferrety and Doctor Don Lucas de Ariza, experiments on a large scale were made so long ago as the 14th of May, 1836, at Mr. Lander's foundery in the Havana, in the presence of a number of intelligent individuals, some of them members of the society and others strangers to that body. As constantly happens, however, under a corrupt and despotic government, whenever a new source of profit is discovered, the idea of a monopoly was suggested; and although strenuously resisted by the enlightened members of the society, the attempt to establish it proved sufficient to paralyse the exertions of those who were disinterestedly desirous to promote an object of such vital importance to the interests of the island.

The sugar planters of Cuba have never yet succeeded in supplying themselves sufficiently with

fuel from the refuse of the sugar-cane, as has long been the case in all the British possessions in the West Indies, even in Demerara, where, from the extreme moisture of the climate, it is found so difficult to dry the *bagasse* sufficiently to make it easily combustible. In Barbadoes and Antigua, in favourable seasons, there is often a considerable surplus of *bagasse*, which the careful planter can afford to sell to his neighbours, and in these long-settled islands where there are no remains of the primeval forests to attract the clouds overcharged with moisture, it is never necessary to erect those acres of sheds for drying and ventilating the *bagasse*, which are so characteristic of a Demerara plantation. In Cuba, on the contrary, the sugar planter is compelled either to employ his people in cutting down timber for fuel, or, what is more common as well as more economical, to purchase firewood, or imported coals, at a high price, from the regular dealers in these articles.

At a subsequent period fresh experiments were made on the Cuba coal, at the forge of Mr. Clunes in the Havana; when the committee of the patriotic society and other intelligent individuals were again assembled to witness them. In their report to the society they stated that the coal was light and much charged with sulphur, which from the violence of the flame it emitted in the process of combustion made it unsuitable for the purposes of the forge; but that nevertheless its quality had improved in proportion as the miners advanced into the interior of the mass that had been dis-

covered. It was further stated in this report, that the coal had been tried in one of the steam boats which ply on the ferry, between the Havana and the town of Regla, and that the engineers and other parties concerned had expressed themselves satisfied with the result. It was likewise mentioned, that one of the larger steamers on the station between the Havana and Matanzas had on a recent occasion found it impossible to keep up the full force of their steam, in consequence of the bad quality of the English coal they had on board, and that they had therefore made trial of the produce of the newly discovered mine of Bajurayabo, which enabled them to perform their passage without delay or inconvenience. Convinced by the success of their repeated trials the committee farther reported, that one of the steamers employed on the south side of the island had ordered a supply of the newly discovered coal for the like purpose. The committee in consequence expressed it as their opinion, that although it had been proved that the coal submitted to experiment was not well suited for the purposes of the forge and other similar uses, yet that its excellence was indisputable in the generation of steam. It is nevertheless certain, that three years after the performance of these experiments and the date of the report upon them, the coal in question continued to be used in the forges, founderies, and smithies of the Havana, but that it had never been successfully, practically, or permanently introduced as a generator of steam either on shipboard or on shore.

The locksmiths, farriers, and boiler makers, and the other workers in iron who were present at these experiments, seem all to have been of one mind in depreciating the new discovery, declaring that it gave more flame but less heat than the English, and that to produce an equal degree of heat a greater quantity of the native coal was necessary. The president of the society required that two bars of iron of equal dimensions should be exposed at the same time to the heat of two separate masses of the two sorts of coal; and the result was, that the advantage was all in favour of the native coal, the fire being brighter and the iron much more malleable; but Mr. Clunes, the proprietor of the forge, ascribed the superiority observable to the greater power of the bellows employed in the one case compared with those used in the other.

It is nevertheless true that the great consumption of wood for fuel in the island of Cuba must soon have raised its price so high as to have seriously compromised the interests of the sugar planters, but for a discovery the benefits of which are not yet fully appreciated. At present, the roads are so execrably bad, that this coal, found at the surface of the soil in a level country, within ten miles of the Havana, is unable to enter into competition, upon equal terms as to price, with the produce of the deepest mines in England, transhipped at Liverpool, or carried there by land-carriage, and landed on the wharfs of the Havana, after a voyage of at least 4000 miles. In the course

of time, however, when the roads are improved, and the forests are cleared away, the native coal is evidently destined to displace what is at present imported, as well as the wood which is now for domestic purposes the chief article of fuel. This period will be hastened by the increase of steam boats, of locomotive carriages on railroads, and of steam engines on sugar estates; which will accelerate the annihilation of the domestic competitor; while the foreigner, even coming for a time in the shape of ballast, will be unable to reduce his price in the same proportion with the native miner, when these ten miles of road are completed.

Before the coal mines of Cuba can be worked to advantage, it will be necessary for the proprietors not only to have roads by which to transport the produce, but miners accustomed to the work who have acquired the craft in England, or some other country where coal is beneficially extracted. The mine into which I descended was totally mismanaged; much more refuse was produced than was at all necessary, and it was so disposed of, moreover, as to encumber the galleries and threaten the interruption of the work altogether.

When the working of the mines of Mexico was begun, the blunders committed were so great that it was found necessary to send to Germany for skilful and experienced workmen; and although the same degree of skill may not be necessary for the extraction of coal as of silver or copper, yet without the aid of practical knowledge it is not

impossible that the first speculators in these coal mines, however promising they now appear, may contrive to throw away a great deal of capital.

Although there are scarcely ten miles of tolerable carriage road in the whole island of Cuba, considerable sums have been expended in promoting the means of communication by steam boats, and in the commencement of a system of railways. In fact, for the last ten or twelve years, the island has enjoyed the use of a greater number of steam vessels than have existed during the same period throughout the whole of the British portion of the Archipelago. The attempt to circumnavigate the island of Jamaica by steam at moderate intervals has not only proved a total failure, but has exposed the projectors of the enterprise to the loss of a large sum of money. In the rich province of British Guiana there is but one small steam-boat, required for the purposes of a ferry in crossing the river Demerara at Georgetown; and Trinidad, where one steamer plies between the Port of Spain and San Fernando, and another is employed occasionally in crossing the Gulf of Paria to the Costa Firme, is perhaps the only British colony where any such undertaking has proved at all profitable. In this respect the state of things is very different in Cuba, where there are three steamers constantly plying between the Havana and Matanzas for passengers and light goods only; one between the Havana, Matanzas, and Cardenas for passengers and goods of a heavier description; one along the coast from the Havana to *San Juan de los Remedios*, calling at

the intermediate points, wherever any considerable mass of population has been collected; and one between Santiago de Cuba and Batabano, the point nearest to the Havana on the south side of the island, from which it is distant not more than forty miles, although the means of communication with it are still exceedingly imperfect. Up to the year 1838 there was also a regular communication by steam between the Havana and New Orleans; but the enterprise has since been abandoned, although some American steamers continue to visit the Havana at irregular intervals. Within the harbour of the Havana there are three small steamers, which circulate between three or four points, doing the duty of ferry boats, and between the city and the town of Regla, on the opposite side of the harbour; there are also paddle boats worked by horse-power, such as I have seen on the Zuyder Zee, and in other parts of Europe. There is also a dredging machine moved by steam constantly employed in the harbour, for the purpose of keeping down the accumulation of mud with which it is liable to be blocked up, and a steam-tug used in towing to sea the mud boats which have been loaded by the dredging machine. But although with certain winds there are sometimes difficulties in entering as well as in leaving the harbour, there are no tug boats yet in use for the service of the shipping. Between the horse and the steam ferry boats there exists a keen rivalry, the proprietors of the horse boats advertising constantly the fearful risks of explosion, while the steamers struggle

hard to obtain the right of monopoly from the Captain-General, which, however, was definitively refused in the year 1838.

The larger steamers which ply on the open sea along the coasts of the island have unhappily found the means of arriving at sources of profit independent of the freight of goods and the fare of ordinary passengers. It was formerly the practice for the public telegraph to be employed in announcing by signals, known only to the parties interested, the arrival of slavers off the coast. The denunciations of the British commissioners have been sufficiently influential to shame the public authorities from this palpable breach of their moral and conventional obligations. But the steamers serve the purposes of the traders to Africa much more effectually than the telegraph. Several of them are, in fact, commanded by experienced slaving captains, one of whom not long ago escaped narrowly with his life in the United States of America, on a charge of piracy, of which his whole crew were convicted, and for which the greater part of them suffered the last penalty of the law. I happened to make a trip with this very man between the Havana and Matanzas; and as I chanced to sit near him at the dinner-table, where he presided with the most perfect self-possession, I took the opportunity to inquire into the cause of a disappointment I had experienced a day or two before from the non-appearance of his vessel on the day appointed and advertised for her sailing. He frankly answered that he had been sent off by the proprietors during

the night in a direction the very opposite to that of his advertised destination; and on my expressing some curiosity to learn the cause of such an extraordinary proceeding, he admitted with equal frankness that it was to land the cargo of the "Venus," a slaver of the largest class, which by this time was known to have arrived. He spoke of the affair in terms of strong indignation, declaring, that the price received for the job was unreasonably low, and that he ought not to have been called upon to disappoint his white customers for so shabby a consideration as thirty doubloons, which was all that had been received for the services of the steamer on the occasion.

The first line of railway of any consideration, which has yet been laid down in the West Indies, is that which now exists in this island, connecting the Havana with one of the most important of its sugar districts, and having its inland terminus at the town of Guines, forty-five miles distant from the capital. The other points at which it touches are Almendares, Bejucal, San Felipe, and Melena. Before my final leave of the Havana the road was completed; and on the occasion of its being thrown open to the public, an entertainment was given in the spacious station-house at Guines at the expense of the contractors, who are supposed to have realised more than ordinary profits by the undertaking. The dinner and the ball which followed it were got up with all that disregard of expense, which seems to be the chief distinction of intertropical entertainments. The novelty of riding on

a railroad, with the prospect of dancing at the end of it, was sufficient to overcome the delight of doing nothing, the "*dolce far niente*" of the fair senoras and senoritas of the Havana. The attendance of strangers also was considerable; and it was my fortune to be placed at table among a party of officers of the United States' navy, who seemed to agree in the expression of sentiments, which at that time were new to me, but which in the course of a subsequent tour in North America I heard repeated to satiety. On the question of war or peace, which had then begun to be agitated, they spoke with great animation, describing the advantage of a little bloodletting with the most edifying gusto. They were good enough to prefer an outbreak with any other country than with England, and to express the strongest disapprobation of the proceedings of the State of Maine, on the subject of the north-eastern boundary, which had then begun to be agitated. The question of slavery having afterwards been introduced, as it exists in the United States, I ventured to speak of it to these gentlemen in the way which I thought least calculated to give them any personal or national offence, by describing it as a sad inheritance from their British forefathers, of which it would be well for them to rid themselves at the earliest possible opportunity. To my extreme surprise and disgust the answer of the mouthpiece of the party to this pacific remark was such as compelled me to break up the conversation. "WE HOLD," he said, "ON THE CONTRARY, THAT IT WAS A GLORIOUS INHE-

RITANCE!" These are the very gentlemen who, as will be seen in the sequel, had been sent to the Havana for the purpose of checking the abuses of the American flag, which were notoriously committed by the parties most deeply concerned in the African slave-trade.

The works of this railroad are exceedingly well executed, as compared, at least, with any thing I have seen in the New World, and do great credit to Mr. Alfred Cruger, of the United States, the directing engineer, more especially when we reflect for a moment on the difficulties he had to contend with, not so much in the nature of the ground, as of the human instruments by the aid of which his task was to be accomplished. Such is the baneful influence of slavery, that Mr. Cruger, although sufficiently accustomed to its effects in his own country, made no secret of the fact, that if he gave an order to a white man to do some specific piece of work, he found as soon as his back was turned it would be transferred to another, and by that other to a third, until in the end it was committed to a negro, if at all within the reach of a negro's capacity.

Several thousand Isleños from the Canary Islands were brought to the Havana for the purpose of working on the railroad. A vast number of prisoners from the *Cabaños*, most of them transported convicts from Old Spain, but many of them *facciosos* captured in the Biscayan war, were likewise placed at the disposal of the company; as was also a portion of the captured negroes emancipated by

British cruisers before the arrival of the Romney receiving ship, who till then were given up to the tender mercies of the Captain-General, and placed, therefore, in a much worse condition than ordinary slaves, making, as has been shown, the very word "Emancipado" a term of reproach and a by-word among the lowest of the negro population.

To make up their numbers, or to show how much could be done for little money, upwards of a thousand Irishmen, who are to be found in every part of the world prepared with their lusty sinews to cheapen the price of labour, were tempted in an evil hour to go there from the United States, allured by promises on the part of the railroad company which were never fulfilled. They were to be furnished with suitable places to live in; they were to be provided for when sick, and were to be sent back from whence they came at the expense of the company when the term of their engagement should arrive. So far, however, from the fulfilment of these reasonable engagements, as soon as any of them fell sick or was maimed, as many of them were in the service, they were instantly paid off and left to their own resources or to beggary. I have reason to believe that our consul, Mr. Tolmé, did all in his power to obtain justice for them at the hands of the local government; but the only result of his interference was to obtain from the Captain-General Tacon, an offer to receive them at the prison of the Cabaños, an establishment elsewhere spoken of, connected with the fortress of the Moro, on the shores of the

bay of the Havana, nearly opposite to the city; but although their sufferings must have been extreme, not a single individual accepted the offer, preferring, without exception, the precarious resource of eleemosynary aid. The evil became so great, and lasted so long, that the British Consul at New York, Mr. Buchanan, at the suggestion, doubtless, of his colleague Mr. Tolmé, found means to warn his countrymen of the great dangers to which they would expose themselves, by engaging in an enterprise conducted on such cold-blooded and iniquitous principles.

The capital employed in the construction of this railroad was obtained by means of a loan negotiated in London by Mr. Alexander Robertson, a gentleman with whom it has been my fortune to meet on various occasions, first of all at the table of Lord Clarendon at Madrid, when Mr. Robertson was in treaty with her Catholic Majesty's government on the subject, and afterwards at the Havana, when the work was brought to a successful issue, and the railway was earning upwards of a thousand dollars a day. The nominal amount of the loan was 450,450*l.* sterling; but as it was negotiated at 75 per cent., its actual produce was reduced to 337,837*l.* 10*s.* sterling, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent., payable half yearly on the 5th of March and 5th of September. In order to effect the extinction of the debt on the first of January, 1860, it is provided that a sinking fund, beginning in 1839, should be created at the rate of two per cent. per annum; and the London agent has stipulated for a

commission of one per cent., for paying the dividends and extinguishing the debt.

Before this loan was concluded, two other attempts at borrowing were made by the Real Junta de Fomento, the one at the Havana, at twelve per cent. interest, and the other at Madrid with the Parisian banker Ardoin, at the rate of five per cent. interest, on a nominal capital, which at the rate of 57 per cent. was to leave the same clear produce as the other of 337,837*l.* 10*s.* sterling. Had the Real Junta proved successful in either of these negotiations, that with Monsieur Ardoin having been conducted on behalf of the colony by the Conde de Toreno at Madrid, it is evident that the conditions would have been much more onerous than those which were ultimately concluded with Mr. Robertson. At the same time it is not to be supposed that that gentleman has any reason to complain of his bargain. On the contrary, independent of his original commission of 4 per cent. on the debt, and his annual commission of one per cent. on the sinking fund and the dividend, he took care to stipulate for the supply of the rails, and other iron work, and for the first set of locomotive engines; on all which, if not a trader's profit, he enjoys at least a handsome mercantile commission, sufficient to excite the envy of the richest merchants in the Havana.

Great Britain having furnished the capital on terms so much better than could be had elsewhere, it might have been expected that her manufacturers would have been admitted to a fair competition, at

least, in supplying the locomotive machinery and the cars and carriages to be employed on the railway. Without imputing any blame to the directing engineer, Mr. Cruger, whose character stands far too high to favour the slightest suspicion of his descending to any dishonourable practices, for the sake of promoting American interests, I am bound to state it as the result of information received on the spot from the subordinate engineers employed in working the machinery, that every one of the eight engines imported in the first instance from England was conducted with such culpable and systematic carelessness, that the boilers, or other generators of steam, were burnt up and destroyed, from the want of regular supplies of water; so that a prejudice very soon arose against the English machinery, from the accidents which under such circumstances could not fail to occur. My informants, who were perfectly cognisant of the fact, ascribed it to an interest which had arisen in the United States for the future supply of the engines that might be required; and for that purpose it became necessary to have the English machinery condemned as unserviceable. In consequence of these manœuvres, the company is now dependent on the Americans in their employment; and as Mr. Cruger, who was the soul of the undertaking, has since left the island, there is very little doubt that his American subordinates, among whom there appeared strong symptoms of discontent before his departure, will very soon fall out among themselves, and come to serious disputes about the division of the spoil.

The expense of travelling on the railroad is of course greater than it would be in Europe or America. To suit all classes of customers, however, they have established no less than four different rates. Passengers in the first class coaches, when going the whole distance, pay as nearly as possible at the rate of sixpence sterling a mile, in the second class four-pence, in the third class three-pence, and in the fourth class two-pence; and these rates are proportionally increased for shorter distances, when passengers are taken up or set down at the intermediate stages. The tariff of freight seems also high, although from the enormous expense of bringing produce from the interior to a convenient place of shipment, and carrying back the necessary supplies for the estates, there can be no doubt that if the company were to exact as much as the planters along the line would find it for their interest to pay, the existing rates might safely be doubled, or, perhaps, increased even threefold. An idea of this may be formed from the following specimens:—For a box of sugar, which usually weighs from three to four hundred weight, the charge for the whole forty-five miles is a dollar and a quarter or five shillings sterling; for a bag of coffee, weighing usually from 175 to 200 lbs., two shillings; for a barrel of flour, three shillings; and for most other articles in nearly the same proportion.

As no similar work exists within the tropics, the deep cutting in some portions of the line, and especially the tunnel within a few miles of the Havana, deserve a much closer geological investi-

gation than I had leisure or opportunity to bestow upon them. As yet, the tunnel is only large enough for a single train of carriages, being 14 feet wide, by 16 feet high, and 325 in length; but the deep open excavations at its southern extremity are still more fruitful of interesting discoveries in the detail of volcanic formations, than the interior of the tunnel itself.

The gross produce of the railway, for the first month after it was opened, up to the terminus at Guines, amounted to $36,000, of which $24,000 arose from the conveyance of passengers, $10,000 from the freight of produce, and $2000 for the transit of goods going inland from the Havana; and during that period, the leading article of sugar, from which the projectors anticipated the greatest returns, had not come into operation, as the canes were not yet ripe, and the process of grinding had scarcely been begun.

As a commercial speculation, the probabilities of its success are subject to several deductions to which it would scarcely be exposed in any other country. If, for instance, any serious accident were to occur through the habitual negligence of the unpaid slave attendants, the natural timidity of the Creole population might possibly deter them from exposing their persons to the real or supposed danger of the new mode of conveyance, however advantageous it might be in point of cheapness and rapidity. For a long time to come they will, probably, be dependent on foreign engineers for working the locomotive engines and repairing the

machinery; and it has often been remarked that, although public undertakings are begun with zeal and spirit in these tropical regions, they are seldom prosecuted with corresponding energy or perseverance, after they have lost the charm of novelty. It remains to be seen how far this principle will affect the future profits of those who embark their capital in similar speculations.

Several branches from the railroad have been proposed for the purpose of connecting it with the southern coast of the island, one in particular by San Antonio de los Baños, and the other terminating in the neighbourhood of Batabano. As it has been found, however, that the agricultural produce of these districts must necessarily be brought to some point or other of the present line without extension, it has been thought more advisable, that the southern branch should terminate near the town of Guanimar, which would bring in the produce of the rich and highly cultivated south-eastern districts, extending from San Marcos to La Guira.

In the year 1838 another company was formed for the construction of a railway between Cardenas and Soledad de Bemba, divided into 500 dollar shares, of which nearly 600 were taken almost immediately, either by proprietors along the line, or by merchants interested in the trade of Matanzas. On looking over the prospectus prepared by the distinguished secretary, Don Domingo del Monte, I find an instance of Spanish delicacy worthy of note as a national characteristic. Two engineers, both Span-

iards, having presented themselves as candidates for the superintendence of the work, the meeting of proprietors finding them so nearly equal in point of qualification, felt it impossible, from motives of delicacy, to decide between them, and therefore resolved on allowing the selection to be determined by lot, content with the assurance that in either case the enterprise would be the first of the kind that had been undertaken by a Spanish engineer throughout the whole extent of the monarchy.

CHAP. X.

THE HAVANA. — THE HARBOUR. — THE ENTRANCE. — RULES FOR ENTERING. — DANGERS AT THE ENTRANCE. — POPULATION. — PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS. — FORTIFICATIONS. — THE CABAÑOS. — CASA DE BENEFICENCIA. — HOSPITAL OF INCURABLES. — LEPROSY.

THE names the Spaniards give to their cities are as high sounding as those they bestow on their children. The capital of Cuba, whenever it is spoken of with becoming solemnity, as in addresses to the throne, or in formal official documents, is called "*La siempre Fidelisima Ciudad de San Cristobal de la Habana.*" It is an episcopal see, as well as the seat of the provincial government, and the residence of all the colonial authorities, excepting the judges of the Supreme Court, called the "*Real Audiencia,*" who have hitherto held their sittings at Puerto Principe, as being in a more central situation, with regard to the rest of the island. It has been proposed, however, at some risk, perhaps, to the purity of the judges, to move the seat of this tribunal to the political and commercial metropolis.

As all the world knows, the Havana is a place of considerable strength; and besides the walls and ditches which surround it, the city is defended by six strong holds, called the Moro, the Cabañas, Number 4., the Atares, the Principe, and the Punta. The first and last serve to protect the entrance of

the harbour; the second is a sort of citadel; and the others are so placed as to cover the approaches by land. In the arsenal of the Havana there have been built 49 ships of the line, 22 frigates, 7 packet ships, 9 brigs of war, and 14 schooners of war.

The suburbs, or *barrios estra muros*, cover more ground, and contain a larger population than the city itself; and yet they are so intimately connected with it, that the first of the houses in the suburban streets stands on the very edge of the *glacis*. Within the walls the streets are in general so narrow, that, except where one crosses another, it is with difficulty that the peculiar carriage of the country, the Volante, with its long shafts and its enormous pair of wheels can be made to turn; but on the outside, especially in the suburb called the *Salŭd*, they are much more spacious. The line of fortifications embraces a sort of irregular polygon, of an elliptical form, the greater diameter of which is 2100 yards, and the smaller 1200 yards in extent.

The harbour of the Havana, when laid down topographically, assumes the form of the ace of clubs, the entrance being the handle, or if spoken of as the French do, not as the Spanish *bastos*, or the English club, but by the gentler name of *Le Trèfle*, then the entrance would be the stalk of the shamrock, and the three internal bays its leaves. The entrance between the Moro and Punta Castles, is about 1500 yards long, and in its narrowest part 350 yards wide; and the harbour itself is said to be one of the safest, best defended, and most capacious in the world.

The depth of water at the entrance is not less than eight fathoms; the rise and fall of tide about twenty-two inches. There is no bar or other impediment at the mouth, with the exception of a rock under the Moro Castle close in shore, on which there is five fathoms water, and a flat rocky shoal extending about forty feet from the water battery. The length of this shoal from the inside of the Moro point is not above sixty feet. At the time of the taking of the Havana, several vessels were sunk in the entrance, about forty-five yards from the Moro; and in the meantime until Colonel Pasley pays them a visit with his galvanic battery, and his exploding apparatus, their position is marked by buoys moored over them. On the opposite side a buoy is also moored to mark the Telino bank about forty-five yards from the Punta Castle. No chart of the harbour has ever been published with the sanction of the government; and it may be doubted whether any exists, that can be entirely depended on, unless the commander and officers of Her Majesty's surveying ship Thunder, which has repeatedly visited the port, have succeeded in laying it down with the necessary degree of precision.

The wharves of the Havana, at which merchant ships discharge their cargoes, are not more extensive than is strictly necessary for the increasing trade of the port. The ships lie while discharging with their stems or sterns to the shore; and in that way thirty six ships of the largest class, and an equal number of coasters, have frequently lain there alongside each other. There is ample space for

the extension of these wharves, whenever a further increase of the trade shall require it. On the opposite side of the harbour, at the village of *Casa Blanca*, the notorious resort of the slavers who frequent the Havana, there are also wharves and ship yards, where vessels of all classes may be laid up, fitted out, or repaired, and in the tideway, between, there is space sufficient for several hundred vessels to ride at anchor.

On the south side of the entrance there is a lighthouse, with reflecting lamps, showing a revolving light, and placed so high that it may be seen at the distance of twenty-five miles. The entrance of this harbour was supposed to be in danger of being filled up or encumbered by the gradual increase of deposits from the city; but by the frequent use of the dredging machine, the evil is greatly diminished, and will, doubtless, in due time, disappear altogether.

The marks by which the harbour can be distinguished at a distance are the hills of Managua, which lie in the meridian of the entrance; while to eastward, as well as westward, the land is low and equal, with the exception only of the Moro rock, distinguished and surmounted by its lighthouse and its fortifications. Six leagues to the eastward may be seen the hills of Jaruco, which are detached and of moderate height, pointing towards the extensive plains which terminate in the neighbourhood of Matanzas. Six leagues to the westward, some table lands may also be seen; and in approaching the shore, the Pan of Cabañas,

or Dolphin Hill, becomes visible some four leagues more westerly.

The entrance to the harbour is not very easily taken when the wind is to the northward of E. N. E., as it lies nearly S. E. and N. W. The sea breeze begins to blow about ten in the morning, and continues till sunset; so that it is between these hours only that vessels in general can enter the port. During the rainy season the winds are often unfavourable for effecting an entrance; and in that case the only resource is to come to an anchor on the Moro bank, and warp in as the breeze abates; there being as yet no steam vessels established in this harbour for the purpose of towing.

In the dry season, when the *nortes* begin to blow, there is a similar difficulty in leaving the port; when, from the swell which sets in to the harbour's mouth and the scantiness of the wind, the operation is by no means free from danger. Generally speaking, it is best to enter about noon and to leave the harbour about sunrise. Excepting in the hurricane months, and later in the season when the *nortes* prevail, the anchorage on the Moro bank is tolerably safe; but during the periods just referred to, it is very much exposed. In preparing to anchor, therefore, it is advisable so to enter as to open the mouth of the harbour, and to be constantly on the watch against surprise. There being no other dangers, however, in the channel but the shallows which stretch out on either side, the eye is a sufficient guide in coming in. On the

larboard side the shoal does not extend more than the third of a cable's length from the shore.

At the time of my first entering the harbour, in the Grande Antilla, it was a bright moonlight night, with a five knot breeze, just full enough to enable us to double the Moro point; and as we passed under the lanterns of the lighthouse, it appeared to me as if I could have thrown a biscuit, or an orange, to its base.

To avoid the shore on the Punta side of the harbour, the ship must be worked so as to approach within half a cable's length of the north-east side, the clear mid-channel being not more than three quarters of a cable's length wide. Once abreast of the middle of the fortifications of the Cabañas, which face the city, the ship may be kept away, and brought to an anchor opposite to the eastern part of the town, at whatever distance may be found most convenient. The largest ships may approach near enough to lay a plank on shore.

Care must be taken however in approaching the Havana from the eastward, to avoid a shallow spot rather more than a quarter of a mile from the shore, on which the ship Marmion, of Port Glasgow, drawing seventeen feet water, took the ground in 1815. From this spot the Moro Castle, distant about an English mile, bears S.S.W.

The bank to the S.W. of the Moro, with five fathoms water on it, is to be feared only when the swell sets strongly in to the harbour's mouth. At other times the largest ships pass over it without danger. As a further security against risk in en-

tering, a boat may be sent to take its station, on the projecting edge of the shelf, within the Moro, at about a cable's length from the lighthouse. A similar projection farther in, on the same side, is called the Pastora, by steering so as to pass outside of which all danger is avoided.

In going in with the wind from the eastward, as will be inferred from what has been said, it is well to keep as close to the Moro as possible. Within it there is the risk of meeting with flaws and variable winds, so that should it become necessary to let go an anchor, great care must be taken to shorten sail, and veer cable quickly; as the ground at the entrance is not very good for holding. Ships lying in the channel of the lagoon moor head and stern; and it is between the buoys, distinguished by small flags, which mark the position of the wrecks, already noticed, that the channel is to be found.

For many of these details, I am indebted to the notes obligingly furnished me by Mr. Consul Tolmé, who, in quoting from Blunt's "American Coast Pilot," has made such alterations as were suggested by the opinions of the most intelligent shipmasters he has had occasion to meet in his consular capacity. He recommends, however, although not called on to do so by any local regulation, that the commanders of vessels arriving for the first time, as soon as they think they can be seen from the Moro, should make the signal for a pilot, by hoisting the union jack, at the foretop-gallant mast-head; when it will be repeated by the

telegraph, and a pilot will be sent out to them without delay.

At the time of the last census in 1827, the population of the Havana, including the suburbs, the garrison, the hospitals and prisons, and the transient inhabitants, amounted to 112,023. Of this number there were of ordinary inhabitants within the walls, including freemen and slaves, 39,980. The suburbs brought up the number to 94,023, and the garrison with the other casualties being computed at 18,000, the entire population reached the total just stated of 112,023. When classified by complexion, the whites were 46,621; the free negroes, 15,347; the free mulattos, 8,215; the negro slaves 22,830 and the mulatto slaves, 1010.

Besides the cathedral, containing the remains of the discoverer of the New World, the city contains nine parish churches; six other churches, connected with hospitals, and military orders; five chapels or hermitages; the Casa Cuna, a foundling hospital; and eleven convents, four for women and seven for men; some of which last, during the administration of Captain-General Tacon, were used as barracks and applied to other secular purposes. The other public establishments are the University, the Colleges of San Carlos and San Francisco de Sales, the Botanic Garden, the Anatomical Museum and Lecture-rooms, the Academy of Painting and Design, a School of Navigation, and seventy-eight common schools for both sexes. These places of education are all under the protection of the Patriotic Society, and the municipal authorities.

The charitable institutions consist of the Casa de Beneficencia for both sexes, a penitentiary or Magdalen asylum, and seven hospitals, one of them containing a lunatic asylum. There are, besides, three theatres, an amphitheatre for bull fights, or *plaza de toros*, and several public promenades, such as the Alameda and the Paseo Nuevo. The city contains altogether 3671 houses within the walls, all built of stone; and in the suburbs 7968, of various materials. The number of private carriages and of carriages for hire amounted in 1827 to 2651 and they are now certainly much more numerous.

The first sight of the Havana from the entrance of the harbour must be exceedingly cheerful and picturesque, although having come in by moonlight I did not see it in the first instance to the best advantage. In the background the gigantic palm trees seem to overlook the city, and to form for it a magnificent framework of the richest verdure; while on the other sides the panorama is completed by the animated harbour within, covered with the flags of every civilised nation, the rocky eminence at the entrance, and the formidable fortifications by which the whole are protected. The most agreeable land view which can be had of the city is perhaps to be found from the hill called the Indio, on the road between Regla and Guanabacoa on the other side of the harbour. The view from the esplanade of the Cabañas fortress, overlooking the harbour and the shipping, the city and its fortifications, and embracing an extensive sea view, is

also magnificent; but being itself from other points the most prominent feature in the landscape, it is of course in that respect liable to some deduction.

I was naturally anxious to see the interior of a fortress of which the Habaneros boast as equal, if not superior in strength to Gibraltar itself; and at the same time to enjoy the commanding view it affords; but I found that the authorities, from the Captain-General downward, were not a little jealous of the curiosity of foreigners, and that even the peaceful inhabitants of the city, if they had the desire, would have the greatest difficulty in procuring admission. Not willing to be thus foiled, I resorted to an expedient which under the circumstances, was not perhaps unpardonable. Having ascertained the name of the officer in command of the garrison, who has the rank of Governor, and also that of the subaltern on duty at the principal entrance, I presented myself at the gate and sent for the latter, to whom I offered my card and begged of him to send it with my compliments to the Governor, as I was desirous of paying my personal respects to His Excellency. The distance from the gate to the Governor's residence being considerable, the young lieutenant, with true Castilian politeness, would not hear of my waiting in the guard-house for the messenger's return, but insisted on my going directly to the house with an Orderly to guide me, and probably also to cover his own responsibility by seeing that the stranger committed no indiscretion. On reaching the house I found to my great satisfaction that the Governor

was walking on the esplanade, which entitled me to decline the civil invitation of a servant that I should walk into the house until his master was made aware of my arrival, saying that I would take the Orderly with me and save His Excellency all trouble by joining him in his walk. There I had less difficulty in finding him than I desired; but while explaining my wish in the best Castilian I could command, to see this eighth wonder of the world, and while His Excellency was telling me of the orders from the highest quarter which forbade all admission, and of his own "*desolacion indecible*," that he could not comply with my request, I had the opportunity of looking leisurely about me and completely satisfying the harmless curiosity that had brought me there.

In the *Real Casa de Beneficencia* there are five distinct branches: 1st, a school for girls; 2d, a school for boys; 3d, a female lunatic asylum; 4th, a male lunatic asylum; and, 5th, an hospital for the reception of aged and infirm persons of both sexes. There is also connected with this establishment, although deriving its funds from distinct sources, an hospital of incurables, called the *Real Casa Hospital de San Lazaro.*

At the time of my visit, there were in the girls' school 101 scholars, including twelve day scholars; in the boys', sixty-three, including two day scholars; in the female lunatic asylum, eighty-three, including five out-pensioners; in the male asylum, 102, including ten out-pensioners; and in the hospital or poor-house twenty-five. In the management

of the establishment there were twelve persons employed; the slaves attached to it were seven; there had been sent there three other slaves as a punishment; and the local government had granted the charity the services of fifty of the unfortunate *emancipados*, the hire obtained for whose services was to be regarded as the Captain-General's contribution; so that the whole number of persons supported by the institution, or in any way dependent on it, amounted in all to 445.

Girls are not admitted into the institution after ten years of age; and being entirely supported there they are completely separated from their parents and their families until the time of their final removal from the establishment has arrived. They are taught the various branches of needlework and dressmaking, and receive such other instruction as may sufficiently qualify them for becoming domestic servants, housemaids, cooks, or washerwomen. They are not suffered by the regulations to remain in the house after the age of twenty-one; but before that time it is the duty of the Junta or committee of management to endeavour to procure employment for them either in a private family or in some house of business. Should the circumstances of the parents have improved during the stay of their daughter at the institution, they are not suffered to take her away until they have paid for her previous board and education at the rate of fifteen dollars a month; but if the girl herself has acquired property by inheritance, or is able to improve her condition by marriage or otherwise, independent of her parents,

she is suffered to leave the house without any payment; and in the event of her marriage to the satisfaction of the Junta, a little dowry is provided for her, amounting to $500, from a fund created by prizes in the lottery, the produce of tickets presented to the institution. Six such marriages had taken place, and six dowries bestowed from this fund, in the course of a single year.

The boys are taught the usual branches of education of primary schools, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic; and at the periodical examinations those who distinguish themselves by the greatest proficiency are rewarded by admission into select classes, where several of the higher branches of a good education are taught. The greater number of them are instructed in some business suited to their humble station in life, such as that of a tailor or a shoemaker. The masters in these departments, besides receiving a moderate salary, are allowed, as a further stimulus to their exertions, the benefit of any profit they may be able to make from the labour of their scholars.

In the course of my visit to this institution I had the opportunity of convincing myself that the boys, as well as the girls, were sufficiently supplied with good wholesome food; that their clothing was well suited to the climate; that the dormitories were airy and comfortable; the galleries for exercise well shaded and the play-grounds spacious, well inclosed, and sufficiently protected. Yet in spite of all these advantages I observed with regret that in both branches of the institution, the young people in

general were of a pale and sickly frame of body, and, in regard to health and activity, appeared to be decidedly below the average of young persons of their age and station in other parts of the city. This fact I am persuaded cannot fairly be ascribed to any want of care or tenderness on the part of the managers of the institution, but must at once be referred to an inherent fault in the system prevailing in all climates and under all circumstances where young people are congregated in large numbers, completely separated from their families, and deprived for a long period of the numberless and nameless attentions which are only to be found under the parental roof.

In the two lunatic asylums dependent on this great charity, I observed also with pain and regret, that while the physical wants of the patients were adequately attended to, and while every care was bestowed on the preservation or restoration of their bodily health, no provision whatever was made for that moral culture and reclamation so well understood and so successfully practised in the great public institutions for the recovery of the insane in many parts of Europe and in the United States of America. In my visit to the lunatic branches of the charity I had the advantage of being accompanied by my friend Dr. Madden, who has studied this branch of his profession with so much enlightened and practical zeal, that I trust he may one day or other be induced to give the world the benefit of his experience and researches. We were informed by the medical attendant, and had pre-

viously learned, indeed, from the periodical reports, that the number of insane persons, for whom the benefit of the institution was claimed, had for many years been constantly on the increase. Among the eighty-three female patients not a single cure had been effected during the previous year. With the men they had been more successful or more fortunate, — at least credit was claimed for sixteen recoveries out of the total number of 102; but if the cures were numerous so also were the deaths, amounting to fifteen within the year.

In the poor-house department of the institution the number of inmates is inconsiderable when compared with the gross population of the city and the mendicancy prevailing there, to a degree which has certainly no parallel in any other place in the West Indies. But a life of vagabond freedom would certainly be preferred, in such a climate, to the irksome regulations of a workhouse, even if the inhabitants were less wealthy and less charitably disposed than they undoubtedly are. When this branch of the institution was first formed, the public beggars of the city and the suburban districts were arrested and sent by force to the *Casa de Beneficencia.* But the funds at the disposal of the *junta* having proved insufficient for the adequate support of the other branches, which were considered as of more vital importance to the public welfare, the poor-house department has for some years been reserved for the use of voluntary applicants.

Although not so productive as could be wished,

the sources of the income of this charity are as various as can well be imagined. They consist of private donations; public subscriptions; government grants; rents of houses belonging to the institution; the hire of slaves the property of the establishment, of negroes sent there for punishment, and of the so called *emancipados* assigned to it for this purpose by the Captain-General; a special tax on the flour imported at the Havana and Matanzas; a tax on the public billiard tables of the capital; a poll tax; the produce of certain planks belonging to the institution, used in facilitating the landing of passengers at the wharf from the ships in the harbour; the payments received for needlework and dressmaking in the female department, and for the singing of the pupils as choristers in the responses for the dead; and, finally, the board received for such of the inmates as can afford to pay for their maintenance, in whole or in part. The private donations present also an amusing variety. The gift of tickets in the lottery is of frequent occurrence; and every imaginable article is to be found on the list of donations in kind. When sufficient employment is not to be found for the negroes belonging to the establishment, they are sent out into the market places and elsewhere to beg for donations of food; and in the last report I observe it stated that a visitor, who declined the communication of his name, had distributed some thousands of cigars among the lunatics of both sexes.

The total pecuniary receipts amount in general

from this great variety of sources, to $55000, or $60,000 a year; and the funds at every balance are so completely exhausted, that a debt remains constantly due to the treasurer, and also to the Custom-house, for the advances which have been made from time to time to meet the exigencies of the establishment, varying from $6000 to $8000.

The hospital for incurables, called the Real Casa Hospital de San Lazaro, is chiefly occupied by leprous patients. The situation chosen for this branch of the establishment has all the appearance from its openness to a free circulation of air, and its gentle elevation, of being highly favourable to the improvement of the general health of the unfortunate inmates; and the arrangement of the buildings, consisting of small cottages, erected round an extensive area, and all looking inward from distinct terraces, gives as cheerful an aspect to the scene as is at all compatible with the hopeless nature of the disease, and the necessity of protecting one class of patients from the risk of contact with others whose cases may happen to be of a less virulent nature. At the period of my visit, there were seven patients in the infirmary of the institution, two of whom were white and five persons of colour. In the cottages around the square there were sixty-three patients, of whom eighteen were white and forty-five persons of colour. I was told, also, that there were ten patients who received out-of-door relief, two in the city and eight in the country. There were, also, five attendants, three slaves, and two *emancipados*,

making altogether eighty individuals more or less dependent on the institution.

The disease called leprosy in Cuba is better known in the British West Indies by the name, of yaws, which is believed to be an African synonym for the technical term *framboesia*, which has been given to it by medical men, from the resemblance which the eruptions bear to the raspberry. The disease is believed to have been originally imported with the unfortunate Africans themselves from the coast of Guinea. Among the posthumous papers of the late Dr. Wright of Edinburgh, annexed to his memoirs, published in 1828 by Mr. Blackwood, there is an excellent treatise on this subject in the form of an inaugural dissertation, which Dr. Wright had kindly prepared for some young medical friend. At the time of the author's medical practice in Jamaica, towards the close of the eighteenth century, he found it so very prevalent, that few negroes escaped from it, especially in childhood or youth. Its appearance he describes as horrid, and its effects direful. He recommends the careful avoidance of all contact with the sufferers; and he tells the West India proprietors that he is the best planter who feeds and clothes his people well, and keeps them in good spirits; promising that if negroes so treated should be infected, the disease would not only be of the mildest kind, but of short duration.

In Dr. Wright's time, in Jamaica, there was a house distinct from the general infirmary on every well regulated estate in the island prepared for the

reception of negroes infected with the yaws, and placed at a distance from the village or collection of huts occupied by the slaves who were not so infected. If there happened to be but one such patient on an estate, he was condemned to the most dreary solitude, and had not even the benefit of medical assistance, unless some other disease should happen to intervene; as physicians and surgeons were not willing to expose themselves to the risk of an infection which, if once caught, in addition to all the other evils it brought in its train, would be utterly ruinous to their professional pursuits.

In the British West Indies this loathsome disease as it originally came with the slave trade, has now in a great measure disappeared, although not till long after the cause which introduced it. In those colonies to which the liberated Africans have been sent, there is of course some risk of its propagation. At Demerara, for instance, I was informed that it had not confined its ravages to the imported Africans, nor even to the negro population in general, but had found its way into white families, the members of which were naturally shunned by their brother colonists, from the dread of contagion it is so well suited to inspire.

CHAP. XI.

MATANZAS. — SLAVES FOUND ASLEEP. — SANTIAGO. — PUERTO PRINCIPE. — MODE OF GRANTING LAND. — NUEVITAS. — PROPOSED RAILROAD. — SYSTEM OF EXPROPRIATION. — POPULATION OF CUBA.

THE city of San Carlos de Matanzas, although not the capital of any province or department, and inferior in population to Puerto Principe and Santiago, holds the second place in the island in commercial importance. The bay is spacious, and is protected from all winds but the north east. In front of the city there is a ledge of rock four feet below the surface, which serves as a sort of natural break-water in defending the vessels at anchor within it from the swell. There are two channels by which to enter, the one by the north, the other by the south, end of the ledge; but the southern channel is only fit for coasting vessels. The rivers San Juan and Yumury, between which the town is situated, deposit such quantities of matter at their mouths as greatly to diminish the extent of the anchorage ground; at the same time making it necessary, from the shallowness of the water these deposits occasion, to load and discharge the shipping by means of lighters and launches.

In 1827, the date of the last census, the population of Matanzas was much inferior to what it now is, having consisted of 6333 whites, 1941 free people of

colour, and 3067 slaves,—making, with the garrison and the transient inhabitants, computed at 3000, the general population at that period amount to 14,341.

The town is situated on a gentle eminence between the two rivers, rising on an average about thirty feet above the level of the sea, and with such an inclination on either side as to facilitate the flow of the rain water and prevent its stagnating on the ground. The soil consists of a sort of argillaceous sand, which suffers the water to percolate, and favours its evaporation; so that Matanzas is considered peculiarly healthy; and consumptive patients from the United States are sent there in great numbers by their medical advisers to escape the rigours of a North American winter.

The form of the town is an irregular trapezium, and contains some wide and well built streets; about a third part of the houses—1735 in all—being built of stone. There is here an hospital of considerable extent, which on a cursory view seems very well conducted, and had received, I was told, in the course of the year preceding my visit, upwards of 800 patients. Although there is a branch, or deputation, of the Royal Patriotic Society at Matanzas, one of whose first duties it is to encourage and stimulate education, I am sorry to say that the schools of the town are neither numerous nor well attended. Among the public buildings there is a parish church of respectable architecture, a theatre, a barrack, and two market places. The town contains also two printing offices and a bathing establishment; but the water for domestic purposes is of bad quality,

and is obtained partly from the two rivers, partly from wells, and partly from cisterns, in which the rain water is collected. The town is distant twenty-two leagues east from the Havana; twelve north-east from the terminus of the railway at Guines; twelve east from Jaruco; twenty-two north-east from Batabano; sixty-five and a half north-west from Trinidad; forty-seven and a half north-west from Jagua; and forty-six and a half west-north-west from Villa Clara.

In the neighbourhood of Matanzas a sugar refinery on the most improved modern principle has been established by an English house of great respectability, Messrs. George and Burnell, two of the partners of which, brothers of Mr. George, had fallen victims to the climate before my arrival. To the surviving partners I was indebted for many civilities far beyond the reach of ordinary hospitality. Not content with showing me their own highly interesting establishment, they carried me to see the numerous *Ingenios* in the neighbourhood, from whom they are naturally the most extensive purchasers, and thus enabled me to check or confirm the detailed information I had procured in other districts of the island.

The demand for refined sugar must of course be very considerable in the Havana and the other great towns of the island; but the Russians and the people of the United States, who are the chief consumers of the produce of Cuba, take care of course, by their Custom-house regulations, to impose such duties on refined sugar as are quite sufficient

effectually to discourage all foreign competition. The governments of St. Petersburgh and Washington are not, however, so absurd as those of London and Paris in refusing admission to clayed sugar, except on payment of a prohibitory duty, under pretence of its interfering with the business of the refiner. It is scarcely credible, in fact, that at this advanced period of the nineteenth century large quantities of sugar, the *bonâ fide* produce of Martinique and Demerara, should have been refused admission at Havre and Liverpool, because the Custom-house officers thought it a shade too white, or found the crystals superior in purity to what they had been accustomed to find under less perfect modes of manufacture, as the result of a single operation.

Among the considerations which served to compensate a traveller for a long separation from his native country, I am disposed to give a high place to the "olim meminisse juvat" — to the chance of meeting with early friends and associates in such a "busy haunt of men" as the Havana. In the course of an extensive tour on the western side of the Atlantic, I have been exceedingly fortunate in this respect, having frequently met with friends in the most unexpected situations, and renewed my acquaintance with school-fellows from whom I had been separated for a long course of years. In my excursion to Matanzas and its neighbourhood, I had the satisfaction to be accompanied by one of my earliest acquaintances, who, being extensively engaged in commercial pursuits, had been brought

to the Havana, where a branch of his house had been established, by the events of the Mexican blockade. The strong feeling of indignation which he shared with me, on witnessing some scenes of unprovoked brutality towards the negro race in the course of our excursion, was sufficient to induce me to modify the strictures I had set down in my note-book, on the sanction which is indirectly given by the foreign merchants of the Havana to the cruel practices of the slave master, and the atrocities of the slave trade. In what remains I have not disguised my sentiments on the subject; and if my worthy fellow-traveller should do me the honour to peruse these pages, he will enjoy the consciousness of being individually entitled to exemption from charges which were never intended to have any personal application.

While in quest of the mouth of one of those extraordinary caves produced by the action of water on the schistose formation, washing it away from beneath the superincumbent mass of calcareous rock, we overtook, on the bridle path, a long file of negroes, each labouring under a heavy load; and at the same instant there came up one of those brutal drivers armed with his instrument of torture, who, without any notice or apparent provocation, applied himself most vigorously to the work of flagellation, not sparing a single individual of the gang. With this proceeding we did not interfere, because in a foreign country we felt ourselves reluctantly compelled to pay some respect to any emblem of authority, although it should appear in the question.

able shape of a cart whip. Soon after the driver had performed his round of duty, and had allowed the gang to proceed on their journey we were met by two persons in the guise of gentlemen, whose behaviour immediately attracted our attention. No sooner had they caught sight of the file of negroes, than, rushing on with the most furious exclamations, they began to beat and pummel the poor fellows with all their might. Seeing nothing in the appearance of these persons to entitle them to consideration, we began to expostulate with them on their conduct; when it turned out that they had no sort of interest in the gang, or the work they were employed in, but defended the outrage by declaring that the master was their friend, and that the people richly deserved what they had got, as the whole of them had just been detected in the fact of laying down by the road side and falling fast asleep, instead of proceeding with their loads to the end of their journey. Under any other circumstances it would have been laughable to observe the vehemence with which, so hateful to the ears of a slave master, they repeated the word *dormiendo!*

In the course of our visit to one of the best and most humanely managed estates in the island of Cuba, receiving from the proprietor an infinity of most interesting details, we were interrupted by the arrival of two English gentlemen, who, I have reason to fear, were not a little shocked either at the pertinacity of my inquiries, or at the too communicative disposition of my hospitable host. Some of my questions were of such a nature that the

Hacendado himself could not answer them at the moment, but with the utmost readiness sent for his mayoral to assist him. The explanations of the mayoral not being quite so definite as the proprietor could have wished, he next sent for the books of the estate to put the point at issue beyond all doubt; and it was while he was in the act of consulting the ledger to determine the point at issue, that our English friends made their appearance. They had come with the kind purpose of carrying me to see some other estates in the neighbourhood; but it was not until after my return to the Havana that I discovered any symptom of the wound I had so innocently inflicted on the susceptibility of one, and I hope only one, of my countrymen. Most certainly the party more immediately concerned, the worthy Hacendado, never dreamt of such a thing.

The city of Santiago is the second in population and magnitude, the third in mercantile importance. It is the see of the archbishopric of Cuba, and the capital of the eastern provinces of the island. In 1827, the date of the last census, the population consisted of 26,738 persons; of whom 9302 were white, and therefore free; 10,032 were free, although either of the negro or the mixed race; and 7404 were slaves.

Unlike the Havana, which stands just within the mouth of the harbour, Santiago is placed near its inner extremity. The entrance is strongly defended by a fortress, also called the Moro, standing on a rocky eminence to windward, and by a separate fortifica-

tion, La Estrella, erected on the same side, near the level of the water just within the extreme point on which the Moro stands. From north to south the harbour is about four miles long. Its breadth is irregular, and in some places rather narrow; but its depth of water is sufficient for the reception of ships of the line; and it is completely defended from every wind that blows.

The maritime trade of Santiago suffered severely during the revolutionary period, when all communication with the Spanish provinces, called *Los Paises disidentes* of North and South America, was interrupted. In 1827 the imports amounted in value to $1,441,048, and the exports to $1,270,586. Ten years afterwards, in 1837, the imports were $2,299,399 6½, and the exports $2,182,001 4. The gross custom-house revenue of the port amounted in 1827 to $470,365, and in 1837, to $604,339 4.

There is no town in the West Indies, approaching Santiago in population or commercial importance, which stands so low in point of salubrity. Hemmed in by mountains on its eastern, northern, and western sides, the free circulation of the air is greatly impeded; and, unless when agitated by very high winds, the exhalation from the bay and the lagoons connected with it remain there in a state of stagnation. The yellow fever, named from its most fatal symptom *el vomito negro*, commits here the most cruel ravages. The rainy season is by far the most dangerous, much more so, indeed, than during the extreme heats which prevail between July and October. The temperature of the neigh-

bouring mountains is comparatively moderate; and it is among them in general that Europeans first establish themselves, that they may be enabled by degrees to withstand the rigours of the climate.

The city of Santa Maria de Puerto Principe, the chief town of the central department of the island, is situated in the interior, as far as possible from the sea and from the confines of its jurisdiction, as if its site had been selected on the same principle with that of Madrid, which is supposed to have been chosen for the Spanish capital on account of its being in the very centre of the kingdom. It stands between two rivulets, the Tinima and the Satibonico, which afterwards unite, and form the Rio de San Pedro, falling into the sea at the distance of forty miles in the direction of E.S.E. The population of the city amounted, in 1827, to 49,012 persons, 32,996 of whom were white, 6165 free people of colour, and 9851 slaves, — a number far exceeding that of any other second-rate town throughout the West Indies. The trade of the place, as may be supposed from its inland position and its want of water carriage, bears no just proportion to the number of its inbitants. In former times the *Hatos*, *Corrals*, *Realengos*, and *Potreros* in its neighbourhood, were the chief source from whence the capital of the island obtained its supplies of butcher's meat. At that remote period it was not uncommon for 20,000 calves to be sent in the course of a year from Puerto Principe to the Havana; but the soil in the neighbourhood of the capital having

been long ago exhausted for agricultural purposes, by a bad system of husbandry, and the sugar estates, which formerly existed there, having been definitively abandoned, the land has been laid down in pasture, and the markets of the Havana have thus become to a certain extent independent of more distant supplies.

It may be as well in this place to give some idea of the meaning of the word *Hato*, and the other terms which have just been employed, as they are not to be found in the common vocabularies, and their precise meaning is not very clearly defined even in the dictionary of the Academy.

It was formerly the practice, when grants of land were obtained from the government, to fix upon a point which was to be declared the centre of a circle, the circumference of which was to become the limit of the concession. This method was probably resorted to for the purpose of avoiding disputes as to territorial boundaries; but in the sequel it had only the effect of making these questions of boundary more intricate and more difficult of adjustment.

The *Hato* was a circle, the diameter of which was four leagues; that of the *Corral* being equal only to its radius — that is two leagues in extent; the *Realengos* were the royal reserves, surrounded by the exterior curved lines of the *Corrals* and *Hatos*, to which the original name continued to be applied long after the land had been ceded to private individuals; and the *Potrero* was a portion of land indeterminate in form or extent, but gene-

rally occupied, like the *Hatos*, *Corrals*, and *Realengos*, as breeding farms for the rearing of cattle.

The *Haciendo Principal* is a generic name, including all but the *Potrero*, and is applied to breeding farms of the largest class; while the *Potrero*, without any definite limit, is considered a place of inferior importance. In the course of time the curved boundaries of the *Hato*, the *Corral*, and the *Realengo*, have been gradually departed from, by the ordinary exercise of proprietary rights, by sale, deed of gift, or testamentary disposition; as by another mode of exercising these rights, the original cattle-pen, as the breeding farms are called in Jamaica, has been converted into *Ingenios* or *Cafetals*, or otherwise applied to agricultural purposes. The dimensions of the *Hato* being so much greater than those of the *Corral*, the latter was formerly confined to the raising of pigs, goats, and sheep; while on the *Hato* were bred the horse, the mule, and the cow; but this distinction, like that of the form of the estate, is also becoming obsolete.

The bay of Nuevitas may be regarded as the harbour of Puerto Principe, although twelve and a half leagues distant, as there its produce is shipped, and from thence it receives its foreign supplies. The want of all tolerable means of communication, however, for the carriage of heavy articles, is such as to threaten the greater part of the rich soils of the interior with a condemnation to perpetual virginity.

A few years ago a new colony was formed in

the bay of Nuevitas, which at the end of twelve years from its commencement, could boast of a growing population, already amounting to 1153; of whom 709 were white, 87 free people of colour, and 357 slaves. By the new colony, as well as by the large population of Puerto Principe, the extreme difficulty of transit, between the coast and the interior, is felt of course most severely; and, during the administration of Captain-General Tacon, gave rise to a proposal, which met with some encouragement, but which has not yet been seriously acted on, of constructing a railway, the chief object of which should be to connect Puerto Principe with the sea. It, however, is not at all improbable that the decided success which has attended the opening of the railway between the Havana and Guines may stimulate the wealthier classes of the people to break up their hoards of dollars and doubloons, and apply them to a purpose so beneficial to the country.

They have had the districts surveyed by American engineers, who, in their own country at least, in framing their estimates of the probable success of such undertakings, are accustomed to form their judgment much more from the opinion they may entertain of the future capabilities of the district through which the road is to pass, than from the positive data of actual traffic. The improvident grants of land which were made in former times to the unreasonable extent of circles of twelve leagues in circumference, will doubtless have the effect of checking such an enterprise, just as similar grants

of extensive "blocks" in British America have prevented the construction of common roads, and are at this moment retarding to a grievous extent the general prosperity of the country. But in Cuba the fiat of a despotic government may possibly be interposed to remove the difficulty; and although at the date of the original grants of these Hatos, Corrals, and Realengos, there was probably no condition as to the mode of occupancy, the local authorities, provided the ends of substantial justice be accomplished, are not likely to be very scrupulous as to the mode by which the idle and inactive Hacendados are to be remunerated for the compulsory expropriation which the interests of the community require.

To facilitate such proceedings a law was passed by the Cortes on the 17th of July 1836, and was duly promulgated in the island; but it may become a matter of doubt with an energetic Captain-General like Tacon, whether the forms and principles which are suited to an old settled country like Spain are to be considered applicable to the wild regions of the new world, the original titles to which were granted, in all probability, on the condition or understanding, expressed or implied, that the deed of gift or concession was not to remain a dead letter, and still less that the subject of the grant was to be interposed as an insurmountable impediment to the general improvement of the country. If the nominal proprietors of these "blocks" of land, as they are called in British America, will not consent to pay for the construction of

roads, bridges, and other means of communication suited to the age we live in, there seems to be no practical injustice in authorising their construction by means of funds to be raised on the credit of the land to be benefited by it, subjecting the property by legal process to a tax or rate with which to liquidate the interest of the debt, together with a reasonable sinking fund for the gradual extinction of the capital.

The first census of 1775 having been classified in the same manner with the last of 1827, they afford us the means of comparing the state of the population, as represented officially, at two different periods, fifty-two years apart.

In 1775 the numbers of each class stood as follows: —

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Whites - -	54,555	40,864	95,419
Free people of colour	10,021	9,006	19,027
Free negroes - -	5,959	5,629	11,588
Negro and coloured slaves	28,774	15,562	44,336
	99,309	71,061	170,370

Adopting the same classification the numbers are thus given in 1827: —

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Whites - -	168,653	142,398	311,051
Free people of colour	28,058	29,456	57,514
Free negroes - -	23,904	25,076	48,980
Negro and coloured slaves	183,290	103,652	286,942
	403,905	300,582	704,487

Hence it follows that the whole population has increased in a fourfold ratio, and something more, during the fifty-two years in question. It will also be observed that the importation of slaves from Africa has been far more active than the emigration of the whites from the various sources to which allusion has been made, although that emigration is to be taken as a mere addendum to the natural increase on which there was no restriction, either from extreme hard labour and starvation, or the unequal migration of the sexes. The proportional increase of white males during the fifty-two years was at the rate of 209 per cent.; that of white females, 240 per cent.; of free coloured males, 180 per cent.; of free coloured females, 227 per cent.; of free negro men, 301 per cent.; of free negro women, 345 per cent.; of male slaves, black or coloured, 537 per cent.; and of female slaves, black or coloured, 566 per cent.

On comparing the rural population according to the census of 1827 with the inhabitants of the cities, towns, and villages of the same period, we find that in the country there were 149,930 whites, 35,271 free people of colour, black or mixed, and 220,988 slaves. The inhabitants of cities, towns, and villages, consisted of 161,321 whites, 71,223 free people of colour, and 65,954 slaves. The distribution of the slaves forming part of the rural population, is stated in the official returns of that period to have been 70,000 on the *Ingenios* or sugar estates; 50,000 on the *Cafetales* or coffee estates; and the

remaining 100,000 on properties of smaller importance.

Comparing the population of the three provinces with their territorial extent, it appears that the whole island contains 3496⅔ square leagues, or 31,468 square miles; and the whole population having been as before 704,487, without including the transient inhabitants, it follows, according to the foregoing data, that there were for the whole island in 1827 for each square league, 89 whites, 30·5 free people of colour, and 82 slaves.

The western department, which, although the smallest of the three, contains the largest population, extends from Cape Antonio on the west to the boundary of the local governments of Trinidad and Fernandina de Jagua on the east, with the exception of the rural portion of the district of Yaguaramas, which belongs to the eastern department, and covers 7639 square miles, or 848⅞ square leagues, with a population of 408,537, — making to each square league 194 whites, 54 free people of colour, and 232 slaves, or a total of 481.

The central department, containing the districts of Trinidad, Fernandina, Puerto Principe and Yaguaramas, contains 12,781 square miles, or 1420⅝ square leagues, with a population of 164,497; so that for each square league in the department, there are 115 inhabitants, 69 being white, 17 free people of colour, and 29 slaves.

In the eastern department, which corresponds with the limits of the provincial government of

Santiago de Cuba, there are 11,048 square miles, or 1227 square leagues, and a population of 131,453; so that there are to each square league 106 inhabitants, of whom 38 are white, 29 free people of colour, and 38 slaves.

No estimate having been formed of the numbers of the aboriginal population by the first invaders of the island, it would not be easy at this distance of time to supply the omission. The Spanish writers, while admitting the fact that the indigenous inhabitants had gradually disappeared, ascribe it rather to their voluntary emigration to Yucatan and the Floridas, than to the effect of such cruelties as were undoubtedly committed by the Spaniards on the unoffending natives they displaced in other parts of the New World. The places where they longest lingered were the towns of Guanabacoa, Caney and Jiguani, where those who are curious in such matters pretend still to see among the inhabitants some traces of their Indian origin.

In speaking of the present population of the island, however, it is chiefly with the European and African races that we have to do. The first expedition of 1511, which had for its object the formal occupation of the island, was composed, as we have seen, of little more than 300 individuals. Soon after their arrival the accounts which they gave of their new possession induced vast numbers to follow in their train; some from the peninsula and some from Hispaniola or St. Domingo, now better known by its original Indian name of Hayti. Many of these passed on no doubt to Mexico and Florida;

but numbers also remained, not indeed to cultivate the soil, but to explore the country in quest of the precious metals. On this pretext permission was obtained from the home government, in the year 1523, to import 300 negroes to work the gold mines, which were supposed to have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Jagua; but the historian Valdes asserts that there is not the slightest indication of any such mining operations, and that if gold was sought for at all, it must have been by the mere washing of the sand of the rivers, in which he admits that there are some indications of it.

This, then, is the origin of the introduction of the African race into Cuba; and in contradiction to those writers who ascribe the extinction of the aborigines to emigration, it appears that in the application to the Spanish government for this permission to obtain labourers, by the importation of negroes, one of the leading reasons assigned was the thinness of the Indian population in that part of the island, from which it is to be inferred that they did not scruple to reduce the natives to the same state of laborious servitude which they had previously accomplished with the aborigines of Hayti and Jamaica.

From this beginning the exotic population gradually increased, until, in 1580, it was estimated to amount to nearly 16,000 souls; 10,000 of whom had taken up their abode in the Havana and its immediate neighbourhood. In 1602 the numbers were computed at 20,000, of whom 13,000 resided in the capital and its vicinity. The loss of Jamaica to the

Spaniards in 1655 produced an extensive emigration from that island, amounting, it is said, to not less than 30,000 souls, two thirds of whom are said to have settled in the western districts. In consequence of this emigration a body of 150 soldiers was sent out from the Peninsula to Santiago for the purpose of forming a garrison. In the following years 1656 and 1657 a further emigration took place from Jamaica of nearly 8000 persons; but as the numbers of the colonists were not kept up by natural means, the total population in the year 1680 did not exceed 40,000.

The Havana having been evacuated in consequence of the conclusion of the peace of Versailles in 1763, and the English having retained possession of the Floridas, a large proportion of the Spanish population of these territories, following the example of their countrymen in Jamaica, withdrew from the Continent, and established themselves in Cuba, where, in consequence, at the time of the first official census in 1775, the population was found to amount to 170,370 souls. The war with England in 1780 brought out a strong naval force to the Havana, together with 12,000 men for its garrison, as well as to serve in the projected expeditions against the British Islands in the Caribbean Sea. In 1789 and 1791 permission was formally granted to foreigners, as well as natives, for the introduction of slaves into the island, from the coast of Africa; and as the white emigration from Europe and the Canary Islands continued without interruption, the second official census,

completed in 1791, made the total population of the island amount to 272,140 souls.

By the treaty of peace concluded at Basle, in 1795, between the Spanish monarchy and the French republic, the Spanish portion of the island of St. Domingo was ceded to France; and from thence another source of emigration arose. The like happened in 1803 at the time of the cession of New Orleans: but although, in consequence of the French treaty, the Spaniards began to re-occupy the Floridas, the number of families who returned from Cuba to the Continent was far out-balanced by the emigration from other quarters; and more especially by the constant flow from the peninsula and the Canary Islands.

The invasion of the peninsula by Napoleon in 1808, the occupation of so many of the kingdoms of Europe by the armies of France, and the subsequent revolt of the Spanish provinces on the two continents of America, were so many additional stimulants to emigration; insomuch that at the time of the third official census in 1827 the permanent population was found to amount to 551,998, and with the addition of the transient inhabitants, to 630,980.

Between this last period and the date of the fourth and last census in 1827, the progress of the revolution in Spanish America, the definitive abandonment of the Floridas in 1821, and the constant flow of emigrants, attracted by the fertility of the soil, the commercial activity of the Havana, and the other maritime cities of the island, and,

above all, by the exorbitant profits arising from the uninterrupted practice of the slave trade, had produced such an increase, that the permanent population was found to amount to 704,867, and with the transient inhabitants, to 730,562.

It is admitted in the island that there may possibly be errors in the official returns, particularly in the two first, from the fears entertained by the inhabitants that the census was intended to become the basis of taxation. In the year 1811 a conjectural estimate was formed by the Patriotic Society, on data furnished by the ayuntamientos and other municipalities, which gave 325,000 as the number of the white inhabitants, 114,000 for the free people of colour, and 212,000 for the slaves. The Baron de Humboldt, in his political essay on the island in 1825, assumes the white population to have then amounted to 325,000, the free people of colour to 130,000, and the slaves to 260,000, — making 715,000 in all. But admitting that errors exist even in the latest and most perfect of the official returns, prepared under the auspices of Captain-General Vives, I incline to prefer them as affording a nearer positive approximation to the truth than any conjectural estimate can possibly do; and more especially I prefer them in any attempt to compare the population of one period with that of another, so as to determine as accurately as possible the progress which from time to time the island has been making in wealth and prosperity, in so far as population can be regarded as a measure or a test of prosperity and wealth.

The interval between the first census and the second was sixteen years, and the increase of population, 101,770, showing an average annual increase of 6360. Between the second census and the third the interval was twenty-six years, and the increase of population, 279,858, showing an average annual augmentation of 10,768. From the third census to the fourth the interval was ten years, and the increase, 152,489, showing an average annual augmentation of 15,248, which, divided by 365, makes 41 a day.

CHAP. XII.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND RELATIVE POSITION OF CUBA. — COASTS. — GEOLOGICAL FORMATION. — PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS. — AYUNTAMIENTO. — MUNICIPALITY OF HAVANA. — SECULAR TRIBUNALS. — SYSTEM OF TRADE. — CARRIAGE OF PRODUCE. — MINERAL RICHES. — SILVER AND COPPER. — MINERAL WATERS.

The island of Cuba is situated between the seventy-fourth and eighty-fifth degrees of longitude west from Greenwich, and the nineteenth and twenty-third degrees of north latitude; or, to follow the more minute observations of Spanish geographers, its longitude extends from 67° 46′ 45″ to 78° 39′ 15″ west from Cadiz, which, being converted into the mode of calculation established in the island itself, making the fortress of the Moro at the Havana the first meridian, that point being 76° 4′ 34″ west of Cadiz, gives the extent of the longitude 9° 17′ 49″ east, and 2° 34′ 41″ west, of the first insular meridian, the eastern point being that of Mayzi, and the western the Cape of San Antonio. The latitude extends from 19° 48′ 30″ to 23° 12′ 45″ north; the salient points being the Punta de Hicacos to the north, and the Punta del Ingles to the south; which gives thirteen hours and thirty minutes as the average length of the longest day.

The form of the island is exceedingly irregular,

approaching that of a long narrow crescent, the convex portion of which looks towards the north. It is the most westerly of the West India islands, and, compared with the rest of the Archipelago, has decidedly the greatest superficial extent of territory. Lying in the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico, it leaves two spacious entrances, the one to the north-west thirty-two and a half leagues wide, between the point of Hicacos, the most northerly of the island, and the point of Tancha, the most southerly of east Florida. The other entrance into the Gulf to the south-west is thirty-eight leagues wide in its narrowest part, between the Cabo de San Antonio of Cuba, and the Cabo de Catoche the most salient extremity of the peninsula of Yucatan. From the Mola Cape in St. Domingo, sometimes called the Cape of *San Nicolas*, and by the French *Le Cap de St. Nicolas Mole*, the eastern extremity of Cuba or the Punta de Mayzi is separated by a channel fourteen leagues wide; and from this same Punta de Mayzi to the Cabo de Doña Maria, another great salient point of the island of St. Domingo, the distance is eighty-seven leagues. From Mayzi to Inagua Grande, the nearest of the Lucayas or Bahama islands, the distance is fifteen leagues. From the Punta de Lucrecia to the most easterly point of the great Bahama bank, in the old Bahama Channel, called the Cayo de Santo Domingo, the distance is twelve leagues; and from Cabo Cruz on the south to the nearest point of the northern coast of Jamaica the distance is twenty-five leagues.

In its greatest length, taken in a straight line

from east to west, the island from one extremity to the other extends 572 miles; but following the shortest possible curve from the Punta de Mayzi to the Cabo de San Antonio, passing near the centre of the island, its length is 648 miles. Its greatest latitude from the most northerly point of the Sabinal to the western extremity of the Moro bay, is 107 miles; and its narrowest part from the mouth of the bay of Mariel to that of the bay of Mabana, is twenty-two miles. From the Moro Castle of the Havana to the beach of Batabano, the direct distance is twenty-eight miles. The circumference or periphery of the island, cutting off the bays and inlets, and extending the line only from one point or cape to another, is 1719 miles, or 573 maritime leagues. The superficial or territorial extent is 31,468 square miles; that of the Isle of Pines 865 square miles; and that of the other minor dependencies, Turignano 38, Romano 172, Guajaba 15, Coco 28, Cruz 59, Paredon Grande 11, Barril 13, Del Puerto 9, Eusenachos 19, Frances 14, Largo 32, and other minor dependencies 64,—making the whole territory extend to 32,807 square miles.

The coasts of the island are in general exceedingly foul, presenting reefs and shallows, which extend from two to two and a half miles into the sea, and make the approach to the land both difficult and dangerous for such as are not intimately acquainted with the channels of entrance. Within these reefs there is often a good sandy beach; but for the greater part of the circumference of the

island, there is a belt or zone of low land, very little raised above the level of the sea, subject to floods and inundations, and so wet at all seasons of the year as to be constantly in a state approaching to mud, which makes the access to the coast and the ordinary communication between the interior and the sea next to impossible in the rainy season, and not very easy during any month of the year. There is, nevertheless, a considerable number of harbours, ports, and bays, *Surgideros*, *Esteros*, and *Embarcaderos*, comprising in the first class some of the best, safest, and most accessible harbours in the known world.

On some parts of the coast, the sea, during spring tides and the season of the equinox, forms extensive salt lagoons, which in dry years produce such quantities of marine salt, as to suffice for the consumption of the population. These lagoons are more common on the northern than on the southern coast, and might provide the means of curing vast quantities of fish, which are said to be abundant; but it appears that no fishery of any note has yet been established.

The narrow form of the island, and the cordillera of mountains which divides it into two unequal sections, throughout its whole length, leaves a very limited course for its rivers and streams, more especially for those which belong to its northern side. In the rainy season they become torrents, but during the rest of the year they are nearly dried up. Along their banks they are generally lined with a belt of underwood called *cejas*, and at their mouths

the *Embarcaderos*, *Surgideros* and other shipping places are established.

The vegetable soil may be said to rest almost universally on one great mass of calcareous rock of a porous and unequal character, which often suffers the rain water to percolate easily through it. The vulgar name for this rock is Seborucu or Mucara, which is to be seen at the surface throughout the greater part of the northern side of the island, as well as in many places of the south, and at innumerable points of the central line, through its whole length from east to west. Near the middle of the northern coast a slaty formation is to be seen, on which the calcareous rock seems to rest. At particular points on the south side this slaty formation may also be found; but not so extensively as on the north. The descent from the central cordillera is marked by gentle undulations, the crests of which are parched and dry; while the hollows or bottoms afford a soil of the richest quality.

From the great extent of the island of Cuba, it has been found necessary to divide it into several distinct jurisdictions, civil, judicial, ecclesiastical, and military. The civil jurisdiction consists of two provinces with two distinct governors, entirely independent of each other, the supreme military chief of the whole island with the title of captain-general, being the civil governor of the one province only, called San Cristobal de la Habana; while the other, called Santiago de Cuba, has a separate governor, who, in affairs purely civil or

political, is not in any way subordinate to the captain-general. Independent of this primary partition, the island is divided into three military divisions, the chiefs of which of course take their orders from the captain-general.

The present governor of Santiago, Brigadier-General Don Tomas Yarto, is also the military chief of his department, subject, in military matters only, to the orders of the captain-general. At Matanzas, Trinidad de Cuba, Puerto Principe, and Cienfuegos, there are also officers with the title of *Gubernador*, or governor, who are named by the captain-general, but whose office is in fact of a judicial nature, extending to disputed points of every sort, civil, criminal, or military. Subordinate to them there are eight lieutenancies, called *Capitanias a guerra.*

The captain-general at the Havana enjoys the appellate jurisdiction in military matters, and the Real Audiencia at Puerto Principe of which he is *ex officio* the president, in all other affairs civil or criminal, brought before it *in foro contentioso.* In the cities and towns of the island there are also municipal bodies, called *ayuntamientos perpetuos*, and in the rural districts *Jueces pedaneos*, who in their turn are named by the local governors respectively. Both these classes of persons exercise judicial functions; but the *pedaneos* are subject in all things to the previous instructions of the colonial government. Although their title be that of judges, their functions are chiefly ministerial in their nature, assimilating more nearly to those of a commissary of police than of an ordinary magistrate

or justice of the peace; it being their immediate duty to watch over the movements of the people, to preserve the tranquillity of their district, and arrest all deserters or delinquents, transmitting annually to the captain-general a statistical return or census of all the inhabitants residing within their jurisdiction. Of these officers there are fifty-nine in the province of the Havana, forty-two in Santiago de Cuba, nine in Matanzas, forty-one in Trinidad and the towns annexed to it, four in Cienfuegos, twenty-four in Puerto Principe, fifty-one in Bayamo, Jiguani, Holguin, and Baracoa, eight in La Nueva Filipena, and nine in Santiago de las Vegas, — making in all 247.

The ayuntamiento of the Havana consisted originally of only four Corregidors. This number was afterwards increased to six, including the *Alguacil Mayor* and *Depositario General.* This corporate body was afterwards increased to the number of eight, when the treasurer of the fund for the promotion of the crusades was admitted a regular member of the corporation, with the rank and title of corregidor. At the time of my residence in Spain in 1834 and 1835, this fund was in a very prosperous condition; and its peninsular treasurer lived in a style of splendour and magnificence which totally eclipsed that of the ministers of state, the ambassadors of France and England, and the richest grandees of the kingdom. Whether this absurdity has since been abated I have not the means at hand of ascertaining.

When the Havana was raised to the rank of a

city, an application was made to the king to increase the number of corregidors to twelve. This application was readily complied with, in pursuance of the practice which had long prevailed in the cities of the Indies. Of the twelve corregidors, one was the *Alferez Real;* a second the *Alguacil Mayor;* a third the provincial officer of the *Santa Hermandad;* a fourth was the *Fiel Ejecutor;* a fifth the *Receptor de Peñas de Camara;* and a sixth the *Depositario General.* Several of the *Corregidors* hold the office by hereditary right; and the person who exercises the interesting functions of *Padre de Menores,* enjoys the rank and honours of a Corregidor, without any deliberative voice in the meetings of the corporation. At present, therefore, the ayuntamiento of the Havana consists of twelve *Corregidors,* two *Alcaldes ordinarios* elected annually, two *Alcaldes de la Santa Hermandad,* also elected annually, one *Mayor provincial,* one *Alferez Real,* one *Alguacil Mayor,* one *Sindico procurador del comun,* named by the corporation to serve for a year, beginning and ending at the same dates with the term of service of the Alcaldes. In former times these officers were chosen by the inhabitants at large; but latterly the system has degenerated into a sort of self-election by the permanent members of the ayuntamiento. Besides these there are a *Mayor domo de proprios,* an *Escribano,* and other subordinate functionaries.

At the meetings of this body the captain-general presides; in his absence one of the three *Tenientes Letrados,* or subaltern chiefs, and in their absence

also, one of the *Alcaldes ordinarios*. On the admission of the members of the corporation, they are bound to take the same oath which is administered to the Spanish military orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava, which is, to defend the purity of the Conception of the Holy Virgin.

The chief secular tribunals of the Havana are, first, that of the Captain-General, who has for his assessors, in military matters, an *Auditor de Guerra*, and in civil disputes *Los Asesores Generales*, who likewise exercise the duties of the civil magistracy of their own proper authority. The tribunal of the *Alcaldes ordinarios* has also cognizance in the first instance of civil and military disputes. The *Ayuntamiento* itself may also be said to possess a certain judicial jurisdiction; as, in causes where the interest in dispute does not exceed $300, the corporation hears and decides on appeal from the *Tenientes Letrados* and the *Alcaldes ordinarios*.

In such cases the *Ayuntamiento* names two commissioners, who, in concert with the judge *a quo*, and the assessors, must hear the appeal within thirty days, and pronounce judgment within ten days more. This term is declared to be *improrogable*; in so much so, that, an hour after it expires, the jurisdiction ceases, the cause remains *in statu quo ante*, and the original sentence becomes so irrevocable that no superior authority can take any further cognizance of it.

Sixteen commissaries of police are also named annually by the ayuntamiento for the various

districts or barrios into which the city is divided.

There is besides a commercial tribunal, consisting of a *prior*, *consuls*, a *consultor*, and an *escribano*, whose jurisdiction extends only to mercantile affairs; but before any one can address himself to this tribunal, he must first go before the *Juez Avenidor*, whose duty it is, like that of the *Juge de Paix* in France, to endeavour to conciliate the parties and prevent litigation.

The Spanish merchants established at the Havana and in the other towns of the island may be said to enjoy a monopoly of the trade with the peninsula; and their profits are for that reason understood to be higher than those of the foreign merchant, who has generally, besides, a more active competition to contend against. It is not here as in the island of St. Domingo, where the foreign merchants exercise such a practical control over the government, as to prevent the extension of the number of existing licences, and so to secure for themselves the whole range of the foreign trade.

For effecting sales of goods on consignment, the foreign merchants at the Havana are understood to make a charge of 5 per cent. on the gross amount of the price. If credit be given, a further *del credere* commission of 2½ per cent. is charged for the guarantee. On manufactured goods the usual credit is from two to six months, and on flour from one to five months; but if the purchaser prefer paying in cash, he is entitled to a discount at the rate of 1 per cent. per month, or

to an equivalent in the fixing of the price. Provisions and other goods sold on the wharf, with the exception of flour, are usually paid for in ready money, without any discount or other equivalent.

In addition to his commissions on the sale, the foreign merchant makes a further charge of 2½ per cent. for making returns either in bills or produce. For effecting purchases, a commission of 2½ per cent. is charged, together with a further commission of equal amount if the price be drawn for in bills of exchange. The charge for procuring freight is 5 per cent., besides an additional 2½ per cent. for effecting an insurance on it. For the simple advance of money, where no other commission is chargeable, the merchant receives 5 per cent.; and on bill business the rates are various, from 1 to 2½ per cent., according to its magnitude.

The right enjoyed by foreigners to carry on their mercantile pursuits in the island without any previous formality, does not extend to the business of a broker, which can only be exercised by Creoles, by native Spaniards, or by naturalised foreigners. The number is limited in each of the towns of the island according to its trade and population; and even for persons duly qualified, a special licence is required. The number for the Havana is limited to fifty.

Consignees of goods are required, within forty-eight hours of the arrival of the ship, to present at the Custom-house a detailed statement of the number, quantity, weight, and measure of the whole

consignment, under the penalty of an extra duty of 2 per cent. being levied on the goods. The master of the ship is also bound to have ready for delivery to the boarding officers, on his arrival, a manifest containing a more general detail of his cargo, as well as of the balance remaining of his ship's stores. Just before handing it over to the revenue officer, he is required to write on it, in the form of an oath, that it contains a list of the whole of the cargo on board. The master takes care that this manifest is countersigned by the officer, and the hour at which it is delivered is marked upon it. Within twelve business hours from the moment of delivery, from which the time between seven o'clock in the evening and six in the morning is excluded, the master is entitled to make any alteration he may think proper on his manifest, by the presentation of a separate note in which he specifies the errors he may have previously committed; but after the lapse of the twelve hours, no further alteration is allowed.

Should goods be found on board not specified in the manifest, they are liable to confiscation; and if they do not amount to $1000 in value, the master of the vessel is subject to a penalty equal to double their estimated worth. But should the value be found to exceed $1000, and at the same time belong to the shipmaster, or prove to be consigned to him, the ship itself, her freight, and all the other emoluments arising from the voyage become forfeited to the Colonial revenue.

If, by any mistake of the master, the manifest

should chance to contain the specification of goods which are not afterwards found on board, it is declared by the Custom-house regulations that the same duties are to be levied as if in this respect the manifest were correct.

Goods not appearing in the manifest, but claimed by the consignee within the period prescribed by law, are delivered up to such consignee without any penalty attaching to him or to the goods; but in this case the shipmaster is subject to a fine equal in amount to the value of such goods. If the article omitted consist of gold or silver, the penalty is limited to a duty of 4 per cent.

When the cargo is landed, if it shall be found that the goods fall short of the quantity specified in the manifest, and that such goods are not included in the invoice of any consignee, the master becomes liable to a penalty of $200 for each deficient package. Within twenty-four hours after his arrival, every shipmaster is required, under a penalty of $1000, to present himself at the Custom-house, in order to swear to his manifest.

A bill of health certified by the Spanish consul established at the port of departure, or at that nearest to it, must be brought with every vessel that may enter any port of the island, under the penalty of being placed in quarantine. It must be admitted, however, that the quarantine regulations at the Havana are exceedingly lenient. Ships of all nations bringing bills of health duly countersigned or attested by the proper Spanish consular authority are immediately admitted to pratique;

but if not so attested, the vessel is subjected to an eight days' quarantine. There is no lazaretto at the Havana, but, during the prevalence of the cholera in other countries, a station was established within the harbour, where every vessel arriving from an infected port was compelled to ride quarantine for forty days.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the average expense of bringing produce from the estates in the interior to the place of embarkation. It may fairly be stated, however, that this heavy charge to the planter is in a progressive course of reduction, by the improvement of the common roads, the formation of railways, and the construction of *embarcaderos*, or places of shipment, within more moderate distances of the places of production. These distances are still, however, very great, as it is often found necessary to have coffee and sugar sent as much as fifty miles by land carriage to a point from whence it must be transferred in small coasting vessels to one or other of the *Puertos Habilitados*, or principal seaports. The minimum of this expense may be stated at two reals per quintal, and the maximum at ten reals. The sugar estates along the northern coast, from Cape Antonio to leeward, and Sagua la Grande to windward, send their produce by coasting vessels either to the Havana or Matanzas for sale, as do also the vessels on the southern coast as far eastward as Caimito.

The mineral riches of the island have not yet been explored to any considerable extent. The

copper and coal mines, the mineral baths, and the salt works, will presently be spoken of. In the early history of the island, the pursuit of gold and silver seems to have been the great object of the discoverers, and those who more immediately followed them; but although the precious metals have undoubtedly been found in the island, the quantity has never been sufficient to repay the labours of the search. Some of the early writers, such as Anghiera and Herrera, asserted that the island of Cuba was richer in gold than St. Domingo; but it may be doubted whether the gold sent from either of the islands to Spain during the early part of the sixteenth century was really the fruit of labour and research. It is more likely to have consisted of the accumulated wealth of the aborigines in previous centuries, torn from them by tyranny and rapine at the period of the conquest.

If the alluvial deposits of the island have ever contained a sufficient proportion of gold to repay the labour of seeking for it, either that proportion has diminished, or the increasing value of labour has made the search no longer profitable. It is in sand of a granitic quality that the gold dust is usually found; and those parts of the island to which this description applies, are the mouth of the rivers Damusi and Caunado which fall into the bay of Jagua, and in those parts of the rivers Sagua la Grande and Agabama which are nearest to Escambray; also at the point where the Saramaguacan falls into the bay of Nuevitas, and the

rivers Holguin, Bayamo, and Nipa, in the province of Santiago.

Some specimens of the finest gold have been obtained in modern times from the workings of Agabama and Sagua la Grande; but at an expense of time and labour which could never remunerate the parties engaged in it. In 1827, Don Josè Escalante announced the discovery of silver and copper in the lands of Manicarragua, in the jurisdiction of Villa Clara. The analysis of the first excavations by Don Ramon de la Sagra gave great promise of success, affording no less than seven ounces of pure silver to the quintal of mineral; but it does not appear that these first indications have since been followed by corresponding results.

The presence of iron in various parts of the island is very generally believed. Many portions of the great cordillera, called the Sierra Maestra, are undoubtedly crowned with stones of a ferruginous nature; but the difficulty of access, the scarcity of fuel, and the want of capital, are more than sufficient to explain why no serious attempt has been made to engage in any extensive mining operations. The native loadstone has been found in the mountains of Juragua, not far from Santiago, and in some of the rising grounds close to the ports of Tanamo and Naranjo on the northern coast of that province; and it is asserted that the mountains of Santa Espiritu, Villa Clara, San Juan, and Trinidad contain not only the precious metals, but a great deal of iron.

According to the Baron de Humboldt, the whole of the western part of the island consists of masses of lime and chalk, of a red and yellowish sandy formation; and the eastern part, although with some interruptions, presents the same general character. The central portion of the island is stated, on the same high authority, to be still more decidedly of the white calcareous formation. A variegated serpentine marble is found at Regla and Guanabacao, as well as in the Sierras of San Juan and Trinidad in the province of Santiago; and where it occurs, there are indications of magnesia, with occasionally copper and iron pyrites. Specimens of chalcedony have also been found at Guanabacao, said to be superior to that of Hecla. Chalcedony has likewise been procured in the Sierra de Juragua, in the eastern province, in the lower Sierras of Santo Espiritu, and in the bay of Nuevitas. Mines of alum and copperas were at one time worked in the mountains of Juragua, but were speedily abandoned. Quartz and feldspar slates and schists have been found in various places. The schistose formation shows itself most conspicuously at the base of the mountains of San Juan and Trinidad, where great masses of slate are to be found of a dark blue colour and of a pyritous and bituminous quality well suited for writing upon.

In the quarries near the Havana a thick slate is found, fit for floors and pavements; but still better is brought from the Isle of Pines. Marbles and jaspers of various colours, and susceptible of the highest polish, are also to be found in the Isle of

Pines, and in various districts of the great island of which it is a dependency.

The mineral bitumen spoken of elsewhere is found, under a variety of transformations, in distant districts of the island. Sometimes it is seen in a liquid state, like naphtha, issuing from the fissures of the rocks; sometimes soft, like wax or half-melted resin, as at Guanabacao and elsewhere, when it is called petroleum. It was doubtless in this state that the first discoverers of the island employed it in paying and careening their ships; a fact frequently referred to in the accounts of the early voyagers. These bituminous springs appear, however, to have since in a great degree dried up, finding their way perhaps to those caverns by which a considerable portion of the island is undermined; and after remaining there for ages, and assuming a solid form, coal mines like those lately opened may possibly be the result. Attempts have been made—but hitherto, from want of skill perhaps, without much success—to obtain from this resinous substance a supply of hydrogen gas for the purpose of lighting the streets of the Havana; but where fuel is scarce, and the *gabazo*, or megass, the refuse of the sugar-cane, is not easily dried, recourse has been had to the bitumen, either to mix with the gabazo, or as a separate article of fuel.

Of the mineral waters of the island, those of the Baños de San Diego are the most resorted to; but even these are exceedingly difficult of access, being situated about forty provincial leagues to the south-west of the Havana. There are two springs,

— the one called El Tigre, the other El Templado; but both, on analysis, are found to be precisely of the same quality, and from their relative position are supposed to proceed from the same source. The temperature of both is ninety-five degrees of Fahrenheit; the water is clear, effervescent, and transparent, emitting a fœtid smell, and producing nausea in the stomach. These baths are recommended in cutaneous and syphilitic disorders, in congestions of the lymphatic glands, suppressions of the menstrua, chronic diarrhœas, strictures of the abdominal viscera, and in contractions of the muscles, tendons, and ligaments. Besides the want of roads, there seems to be great want of accommodation at the baths for invalids.

In this last respect the waters of Madruga situated not more than fifteen leagues to the south-east of the Havana, are much better supplied. The springs now in use are the Paila, the Castilla, and the Tigre; and their virtues are supposed to resemble those of San Diego.

The waters of Guanabacao are not so strong as those of Madruga, and emit a smaller portion of the sulphuretted hydrogen gas, which is the distinguishing characteristic of all the three, although none of them have been very accurately analysed. From its vicinity to the capital, Guanabacao is more resorted to than either Madruga or San Diego; and I am persuaded that the whole water used in the town for domestic purposes contains nitre, magnesia, and the oxide of iron.

CHAP. XIII.

WHITE LABOUR. — CLEARING LAND. — SUGAR-MAKING.

THE whole history of negro emancipation in the British West Indies, the period of probation afforded by the apprenticeship, the abbreviation of that period in 1838, and the tranquil and successful issue of the great experiment, have not been lost on the more enlightened portion of the inhabitants of Cuba. It has for some time been strongly impressed on the minds of many of the inhabitants, that neither slavery nor the slave trade in any part of the world can long survive the abolition of involuntary servitude in the dominions of Great Britain. The question has therefore arisen, and has even been proposed for public discussion in the "Transactions of the Royal Patriotic Society of the Havana," whether sugar can be successfully cultivated and manufactured in the island without the aid of compulsory labour. It was not easy, and might not have been prudent, for the colonial government to put the veto of the censorship on a discussion which could not be supposed to originate in any sinister consideration; and it has therefore been suffered to proceed without official interference. In the mean time, it is no small gain for the cause of humanity, that a community so deeply committed to the trade with Africa, and hitherto so

entirely dependent on the continuance of slavery, should become familiarised with such topics of discussion, and should habituate themselves to the contemplation of another state of things.

In the very outset of this discussion, it is laid down as an incontrovertible principle, that the labour of a single freeman, who works voluntarily and for his own interest, is at least equivalent to all that can be extracted from any two of the most robust of the African race.— "*Nadie podrá negarnos que la tarea de un hombre libre, que trabaja voluntariamente y por su interes, equivale á la que pudieran desempeñar dos de los mas robustos de la raza Africana.*"

The mode of proceeding proposed for the attainment of their object by the economists of Cuba throws more light than could be easily obtained through any other channel on the moral, intellectual, and physical condition of the island. Although they have before them the example of the sister island of Porto Rico, whose staple productions of sugar and coffee have long been successfully cultivated by the white descendants of the original colonists; and although Cuba contains a greater number of white inhabitants than all the other islands of the Archipelago together; it is only by the importation of white labourers from the Canaries, that the proposed object is to be attained.

Nay, while it is admitted that the whole of the field labour can be sufficiently performed by white men, it is held that negro assistance is necessary in the interior of the Ingenio. This necessity is

assumed, partly from the custom invariable in Cuba, and hence thought indispensable, of keeping the mill and the boilers incessantly at work from the commencement of the crop season till the last of the canes are cut down; and partly also from the very natural mistake, that a negro can support, better than a white man, a high artificial as well as a high natural temperature. The reverse has been completely demonstrated on board the British Government steamers on duty within the Tropics, where it was for some time supposed that negro stokers could be employed more advantageously, and at less risk to their health than to that of the white men long accustomed to the duty in a colder climate.

The experience of several years has completely proved that an African constitution is not so well suited as that of a European to withstand the heat of the furnace, or rather the frequent alternations of heat and cold to which the stoker of a steam-boat and the fireman and boilerman of an Ingenio are equally exposed. When it is found that the fires can be extinguished, and the boilers suffered to cool during the night, without disadvantage, and that the heat of the furnace is comparatively not so detrimental to the white man as to the negro, some change will doubtless take place in the views of the patriots and philanthropists of Cuba, as to the necessity of employing negroes, either in a state of slavery or freedom, in the interior of the sugar-house. This matter is better understood in the English islands, where the white man's chief

danger is supposed to consist in application to any active employment under a vertical sun.

The great object of the Creole patriots of Cuba is at once to increase the white population, and render the further importation of Africans unnecessary. Without denying them the credit of philanthropic motives, it cannot be concealed that the desire of independence may be traced through all their reasoning, just as it is notorious that the sentiment is deeply implanted in their hearts.

The inhabitants of the Canary Islands are known to be a hardy race, better able than Europeans to support the heat of a tropical climate. It is long since they have outgrown the means of comfortable subsistence; so that it has not been found difficult to induce some thousands of them to emigrate to Cuba, there to work in the copper mines or labour on the railroad. Attempts have also been made to induce them to proceed to Demerara; but the similarity of habits and language have hitherto given Cuba the preference. It is with their aid that the Patriotic Society propose to supersede the necessity of negro labour.

In the formation of a new sugar estate capable of producing 1200 or 1300 boxes of sugar, which may be considered equal to 200 English hogsheads, it is held that thirty *Caballerias*, or 960 acres, of land are necessary. The price of land in a state of nature, fit for being brought into sugar cultivation, is estimated at $500 per *Caballeria*, or $15,000 for the whole quantity. The expense of

cutting down the timber, and preparing it for the future crop, is given at $300 per *Caballeria ;* and the cost of two yoke of oxen, a wagon, and of agricultural implements, is also estimated at $300 per *Caballeria.* It is proposed that the planter shall make these advances, amounting together to $1,100 per *Caballeria,* and that he shall put each adventurer from the Canaries in possession of a fourth part of a *Caballeria,* or eight English acres, receiving a payment in return at the rate of 6 per cent. on his outlay.

The new colonists are to be regarded as the absolute proprietors of these sections of land, subject to this payment in money, and also subject to the condition of having two thirds of their land at least under a crop of sugar-cane, which the proprietor of the Ingenio is to pay for at a fixed price, to be determined either by the bulk of the crop or by the quantity of cane juice produced from it. On this point more difficulties are apprehended, than practice would probably justify; as in such of the British Islands, where, during the apprenticeship, the planters have been in the habit of suffering their negroes to grow canes in their gardens, and in some places encouraging them to bring the produce to the mill, it has been found a very easy matter to content the negro in fixing the value of his crop, although that value must have been to him a matter of the most serious consideration. In the island of Barbadoes alone, where the true interests of the planter are perhaps better understood than in any of our other possessions, I

was assured that no less than two thousand hogsheads of sugar, the produce of canes which had been grown in the gardens of the negroes, had been exported in the year 1838.

The labour of forty white colonists and thirty negroes is supposed by the Patriotic Society to be sufficient for such an establishment. The expense of importing the forty colonists from the Canaries is taken at fifty dollars a head, or $2000. The expense of bringing ten *Caballerias* of the land into cultivation is estimated at $3000; and the price of twenty yoke of oxen, ten waggons, and the necessary hoes and other agricultural implements, together with the cost of erecting the huts or cottages for the colonists, is set down at $2,850, making together $7,850.

The price of thirty negroes is assumed to be $15,000, the charge of building a boiling-house, engine-house, and curing-house, large enough to contain 8000 forms, is stated at $19,000, the price of a steam engine $7000, and of the boilers, clarifiers, coolers, forms, ladles, and other utensils $4,960, making, together with $6,040 for a dwelling-house, and with the former sum of $7,850, a total permanent outlay, independent of the original price of the land, of $67,850.

The annual produce is estimated at 1,300 boxes of sugar, which, with the corresponding quantity of molasses, is valued at $30,225. The thirty negroes are supposed to be hired out at the rate of ten dollars a month during the half of the year when the mill is not going, from which a revenue of

$1,800 is expected, making, together with $660, the rent of the ten *Caballerias* of land occupied by the colonists, a gross income of $32,685.

From this sum the following deductions are to be made: — for canes purchased from the colonists, including the expense of bringing them to the mill, $10,400; for 1,300 sugar-boxes, at nine reals each, $1,462; for interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum on $15,000, the original price of the estate, $900; for wages to the colonists, at the rate of $8 a month during the season of crop, on the supposition that thirty of them are so employed on the average, $1,440; for the salaries of the *Maestro de Azucar*, *Mayoral* and *Mayordomo* $600, $500, and $300 respectively, $1,400; and for the maintenance of the thirty slaves and other incidental expenses $3,083, making the whole of the deductions amount to $18,685, thus leaving $14,000 as the annual return for the actual advance of a capital of $67,850.

The point most essential to the practicability of this plan is the consideration whether the colonists would be sufficiently remunerated for their time and labour, by the price proposed to be given for the canes, combined with the wages to be paid during the season of crop. Each section or *Caballeria*, in which four colonists are supposed to be associated, between the price of the canes and the wages, and after deducting the $66 of rent, ought to produce $703; which with the produce of one third of the land in plantains, Indian corn, and tobacco, would afford, it is supposed, a comfortable mainte-

nance, besides enabling the emigrant to accumulate a little capital from his annual savings. If this were once established, it would undoubtedly prove "a heavy blow and a great discouragement" to the practice of slavery in the Island of Cuba, and of course to the profits arising from the superior horrors of the slave trade.

The prize essay of Don Pedro Jose Morillas, which was crowned by the Royal Patriotic Society with the patent of *socio de merito*, contains many interesting suggestions as to the substitution of the labour of white freemen for that of negro slaves. He contends that the extreme cheapness of African labour is the sole cause why the white inhabitants of the West Indies have by mere disuse and want of exercise lost a large proportion of their physical force. He denies, however, that this debility, arising from inaction, is so general as it is commonly supposed to be. The young men born and bred in the interior districts of the island are so well formed and robust as to be able to withstand the extreme heat of the dog-days and the cold of winter, which is not unknown in Cuba, with no other covering but the light linen vest which they wear all the year round. From sun to sun these men will make a journey of twenty leagues on foot, without being worn out by the heat or impeded by the suddenly swollen rivers, and with no encouragement to proceed but their cup of coffee and their cigar. Their dress is a linen shirt and pantaloons, a straw-hat, and shoes of the untanned leather of the country. They carry besides a

hammock and a single change of dress, which, with a sword and a long knife at their girdle, completes their equipment. When surprised by night-fall they enter the nearest thicket and hang their hammock between two trees; where after smoking their cigar, they sleep soundly till awakened by the song of birds, the cry of wild animals, and the other sounds which serve in a thinly-peopled country to intimate the approach of day. Yet these men show no signs of weakness, and live to a good old age. On such grounds Señor Morillas concludes that the young men of the Havana need nothing but the habitual exercise of their muscular powers to enable them to rival in activity the *Peon de tierra dentro.*

It is the presence of slavery which, in the island of Cuba, as in every other country where it exists, throws every sort of personal exertion into discredit. Because labour is the lot of slavery, the pride of the freeman is alarmed lest the line of demarcation should not be broad enough between him and the slave, and he therefore abstains from working altogether.

If the sun of the tropics be less friendly to physical exertion than the climate of the temperate zones, it affords at least some compensation by fertilising the soil, and multiplying the crops which may be reaped from it. It is moreover a well-known fact that, in the island of Cuba, men of colour are very rarely employed in the work of cutting down the timber, and yet it will readily be admitted that to fell with the hatchet a full-

grown mahogany tree is a task as arduous as most of those to which the ordinary field labourer is exposed. In some districts of the island the Isleño from the Canaries, and the Gallego from the north of Spain, may be seen bent down at this employment from the dawn of day till sunset, without experiencing any bad consequences from it. The smiths and the carpenters of the island are in like manner almost all white men; but although it is not uncommon in Europe for a soldier to sink on the march, a similar failure, if we may believe the best-informed inhabitants, is seldom heard of either among the troops or the white tradesmen of Cuba.

Compare the labour of cutting down the Caobas, the Chicharrones, and the Quiebra-hachas, literally the break-hatchets of the country, or the less laborious employment of the carpenter at his bench, or the smith at his anvil, with the planting and cutting down of the sugar-cane, and you will probably find that the balance is greatly in favour of an employment on which disgrace and discredit have been thrown by the exclusive application to it of the labour of slaves. Sugar, it has been seen, can be cultivated successfully by white men in Porto Rico; and there is nothing in the climate of Porto Rico to distinguish it from that of the islands in its neighbourhood. It is not unreasonable to expect therefore that the final and universal abolition of slavery, combined with an increasing tendency to emigration from the overlaboured and overpeopled nations of Europe, may lead to changes of which no distinct idea has yet been formed, in

the whole system of agricultural labour throughout the tropics.

The Spanish laws of the Indies gave to the man who collected twenty families together in a new neighbourhood the perpetual grant of four square leagues of land, and invested him, and his son or heir after him, with the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the new establishment, authorising him to nominate the priest, the alcalde, and the corregidor, as soon as the want of such functionaries was felt, and conferring on him and his descendants the rank of *hidalgo*, the privilege of entailing his estates, and the choice of a title of nobility. These facts serve to prove that in the palmy days of Spanish greatness, when the laws of the Indies were enacted, no pains were spared to favour emigration, and promote the extension of the colonies.

The vast extent of territory over which the kings of Spain held undivided sway, and the uncounted millions in Mexico and South America who still speak the noble dialect of Castile, afford conclusive evidence that the principles and practice of colonization were at that time well understood. It is true that the Spanish colonists of America have since been eclipsed by those of the Anglo-Saxon race; but by looking into the history of Spanish enterprise on the other side of the Atlantic, we may learn at least how to shun their faults, if we are not occasionally led to follow their example.

In the establishment of a new plantation in a country like Cuba, where vast tracts of virgin soil

remain unexplored, the very first consideration is the choice of a locality, combining the means of ready access to the sea with a sufficient degree of fertility. When the land is chosen, the next point is to determine the future site of the buildings, although their actual construction is not by any means the proximate step in the progress of events. Some central position is of course to be preferred with reference to the carriage of the canes to the mill, and afterwards of the produce to the place of embarkation. The making and carrying of manure, a consideration so vitally important in older and more exhausted colonies, scarcely enters into the plans or in any way affects the views of the planter, who proposes to break ground in the woody regions, or the rich savannahs of Cuba.

The first work to be performed is to clear the ground on which food is to be raised for the sustenance of the future labourers. The next operation is to select and cut down such trees as are nearest and most suitable for the construction of the buildings, and for such parts of the machinery as can be fabricated on the spot. In proportion as the land is cleared the planting of the cane is begun ; but as despatch is at first the primary consideration, the advantages of system and method are often neglected at the very time when they would prove most useful.

On first entering the forest the labourers are armed with their cutlasses alone for the purpose of clearing away the brushwood. When that has been done to a convenient extent, the hatchet is

resorted to, with which to fell the heavier, timber. The whole is then piled together in heaps and fire is applied, which sometimes reduces the whole into ashes; but more frequently the larger trunks of hardwood trees are left unconsumed. Unlike the effect of fire, when applied to the soil in colder climates, it is found in the tropics to be exceedingly prejudicial, particularly if the ground happen to be dry and not very compact. The vegetable matter which would afterwards become manure, and even the vegetable mould itself, is liable to be totally consumed; and those portions of the timber, which might be turned in the sequel to valuable account, are condemned to perish in the general conflagration, leaving nothing behind but ashes and unwieldy masses of charcoal.

It is not in the tropics as in colder countries, where any thing capable of combustion even in an imperfect degree, down to the clays and argillaceous earths, is held by experienced farmers to have a fertilizing effect when submitted to the action of fire. It is a fact, however, which at first sight appears extraordinary, that hardwood trees are less able to resist the alternate action of drought and moisture than the soft and resinous upstarts of the North American forests, the roots of which the settler in the back woods finds it the most difficult and tedious of all tasks to exterminate.

The evil arising from the system of burning off the wood is considered so great in the Island of Cuba, that within the short period of eight years the richest virgin soils would require the aid of

manure to keep them in condition; whereas by resorting at first to the slower and more costly process of cutting down and removing the timber, the use of manure would not become necessary for at least double the period. There may be some situations even in Cuba, however, where the application of fire to the land for the purpose of clearing it may not be prejudicial — in low districts for example, where the soil is compact, and where there is no sufficient current to carry off the surface water.

The labour of clearing a new country, or even that of extending an old plantation, is generally performed by contract. In cutting down timber a degree of dexterity is necessary, which can only be acquired by habit. The negroes on old estates could not well be spared from their customary duties; and the labour would be totally unsuited for newly imported Africans.

The use of the plough is strongly recommended by the best agriculturists in Cuba, although very little known in practice, at least if I may judge from the sugar plantations in various parts of the island which I had an opportunity of visiting. The late M. Dumont, a French emigrant, and one of the most eminent planters in the island, in his *Guia de Ingenios*, recommends a very light plough, drawn by a yoke of oxen, and in some soils by a single ox. With such an instrument, and with a negro ploughman, M. Dumont asserts that an effectual ploughing, four or five inches deep, can be given to a *Caballeria* of canes, or thirty-two acres,

in less than twelve days, whereas the same extent of labour with the hoe, which would not be more than two or three inches deep, would require an amount of labour equal to at least 216 days of a single negro.

A long contributed drought is one of the greatest calamities to which a cane field can be exposed, and it is one at the same time against which the planter is least prepared to guard. The Island of Cuba is not so liable to this visitation as those settlements where the native forests have wholly disappeared before the woodman's axe or the hurricane. Barbadoes and Antigua are more exposed to it; Demerara and Trinidad much less of course than Cuba or Porto Rico. The strong gales, peculiar to these regions, which prevail in the months of August, September, and October, although they should not amount to a hurricane, are exceedingly injurious to the sugar cane, prostrating the strongest of them, and those that stand being generally more or less injured by the neighbourhood of such as have fallen. It is after one of these gales that the care of the husbandman is more especially required, in moulding up the roots of the feeble, and otherwise propping those that need such support.

The conflagration of a cane piece, whether it arise from accident or design, may be supposed to occur, and actually does occur, more frequently in those countries where the slave trade is tolerated than where mere slavery exists in a modified form. The apprenticeship system in the British colonies went a great way towards mitigating the evil; and

it is to be hoped that with the possession of perfect freedom and the power of appealing to the magistrate for the redress of wrongs, the temptation on the part of the negro to commit the crime of wilful fire-raising will totally disappear.

The stupidity and malignity of the African race are the causes assigned in Cuba for the frequency of such occurrences: but when it is proved that these are not inherent qualities in the negro, but are the natural and invariable result of slavery and ill-treatment, it ought to afford a fresh argument addressed to the self-interest of the slave-holder against the continuance of a system productive of such results. The best mode of extinguishing such a fire may doubtless be best learned of those who have had the largest experience of it. I may mention, then, that the system adopted in Cuba is first of all to insulate the fire as much as possible by cutting down the canes around it, but when that cannot be accomplished with sufficient promptitude, then a lane is formed in the direction opposite to that where the fire originated, in order to afford a free passage for the air, and fresh fire is applied on that side, so that when the two flames meet, the fire becomes extinguished for want of aliment.

The cane fly and other insects which attack the plant at various stages of its growth are known to be extremely prejudicial to the interests of the sugar planter. A remedy for this evil presented itself a few years ago in the Island of St. Vincent,

but as there is so very little direct communication between the colonies of the same nation, and still less of course between those speaking different languages and subject to different governments, it may be as well to mention it here. A whale having been stranded on that side of the island which is known by the name of the Carib country, the neighbouring planters lost no time in seizing the spoil and spreading the blubber on their land as a manure. The following season it was found that wherever this oily matter had been applied, the canes were spared from the attack of the fly. Promptly profiting of this lesson the planters of St. Vincent have since been in the habit of importing whale oil, into which they cause the shoots of the cane to be dipped at the moment of planting them. The consequence has been, that wherever this precaution has been taken, the cane fly has disappeared. The fact, as here given, I borrow from the notes which I had the advantage of taking down from the lips of the late Reverend Mr. Brown of St. Vincent, one of the most intelligent and successful planters within the wide circuit of our West India possessions.

The rat, next to the fly, if he does not even claim precedence, is the most destructive enemy that the sugar planter has to contend with. Not content with free access to the cane field and the unlimited choice of its produce, he attacks all he meets indiscriminately, and destroys a thousandfold more than he can consume. Traps, poison, the snake,

and the terrier have all been tried in vain to abate the nuisance. Grave authors have written largely on the subject, particularly M. Julia Fontenelle, M. Blachette, and Señor Zoega of St. Domingo; but having probably no moral check to restrain his progress, the rat seems to have been acting in total disregard of the principle discovered by a deceased economist of multiplying his species in a geometrical ratio until he has passed the arithmetical limits of the means of subsistence. In the Island of Barbadoes I was assured by the Honourable the Speaker of the House of Assembly, that an accident originating in a very unamiable feeling on the part of one inhabitant of the island towards another, had provided a remedy in that island for the ravages of this destroyer, although it brought with it a loathsome but comparatively innocent substitute. To harass and annoy an unpopular individual, a breed of venomous toads was introduced and planted on his property, where they increased so rapidly as soon to spread themselves over the whole neighbourhood. Between them and the rats the most determined hostility arose, but in every contest the quadruped had the worst of it; the attack on the toad from its poisonous qualities being uniformly fatal to the aggressor. This accident, therefore, was rather more fortunate in its issue than the attempt of a sagacious governor of another of our Colonies to expel this four-footed invader of his Barataria. Finding the small rat which had established itself in his dominions so

destructive, His Excellency bethought himself of the notable plan of importing a larger species to chase away the original intruders. They effected this object, it is true, but have themselves become a much more formidable nuisance in their stead.

CHAP. XIV.

SUGAR ESTATES. — TREATMENT OF SLAVES. — IRISH HACENDADOS. — CREOLE GRANDEES. — SUGAR CULTIVATION. — M. BONHOMME.

ONE of the first of the sugar properties that I visited in this island was called La Holanda, situated about two miles from Guines, near the inland terminus of the railroad. This estate I found in a condition not unusual in this island, and certainly not unknown in any of the sugar colonies. It had passed from the hands of the original proprietor into those of the money lender at the Havana, and was said to be in *pleito*, which signifies to be broken down by lawsuits, or, if the pun may be pardoned, to be in a very miserable plight. The works looked ruinous, as might have been expected, and the gang of labourers consisted of forty-six negroes, of whom forty only were represented as efficient. The grinding season was not yet begun, so that the boiling-house was unoccupied except by three poor wretches, whom we found fastened by the leg in the stocks, two belonging to the place and the third to a medical practitioner in Guines, who had sent him there for punishment without legal sanction or authority of any kind. The other two had passed their sleeping hours, and the short intervals allowed for meals, in this dreary condition during a period of two months

preceding my visit, but for the rest of their time they worked with the field gang as usual. The offence of one, according to the statement of the mayoral, was wandering from home at night, there being no barracoon on the property, and that of the other was theft, but of what nature or to what extent I was not informed. The doctor's boy admitted very frankly that he had stolen five eggs, and I understood from the mayoral that that was the amount of the charge against him. The weather at the time was cold, the wretched prisoners could scarcely be said to be clothed, in the filthy rags with which they were *not* covered; and their position in the great, empty, dismal-looking boiling-house made the scene altogether one of the most heartsickening and intolerable I had ever had the misfortune to endure.

It must be admitted, however, that the plantation La Holanda had not for a long while enjoyed the best reputation in the neighbourhood. In fact, it was spoken of all over the country as being remarkable for the hardships endured there by the negroes. One man, about four months before, had actually been flogged to death. When the fact became known at Guines, a sort of legal investigation was instituted. Two medical practitioners were sent to the spot to disinhume and examine the body. Either they arrived too late, or they had no desire to make a report unfavourable to the mayoral. The judicial functionaries were also said to have been tampered with, and the result was an acquittal of the mayoral from the charge

of homicide. This was to be expected under the circumstances as a matter of course. It could not be thought desirable that a white man in authority should be brought to trouble in consequence of an inquest, the subject of which was a dead negro. In these countries public opinion has little or no influence where the life of a slave is concerned. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the man who died under the lash had endured the greatest amount of mortal suffering.

Non è ver che sia la morte
Il peggior di tutti i mali;
E un sollievo pei mortali
Che son stanchi di soffrir.

Four months after the manslaughter I found the mayoral in full possession of the irresponsible authority with which such officers are invested. Such events are not of course of daily occurrence; but as they never by any chance find their way into the newspapers, they are scarcely spoken of beyond the immediate neighbourhood where they take place. A case in all respects similar, as regards the farce of *post mortem* examination and judicial inquiry, occurred in 1837, within three miles of the Havana, where it naturally made some stir; although it ended as such inquiries constantly do, in the whitewashing and acquittal of the principal culprits. The value of an overseer could scarcely be said to be diminished by an accident which resulted in the loss of three hundred dollars' worth of human flesh. In all probability it will be amply compensated by the extra labour which his system of management is calculated to extract

from the survivors. A caution on the part of the proprietor will generally be considered as a sufficient punishment. The average annual produce of the Holanda estate I was told was 1000 boxes.

The neighbouring estate of Alexandria is the property of the Conde de O'Reilly, a nobleman who presents in his own person a favourable sample of the Creole aristocracy; but, like his fellow grandees and *Hacendados*, he seldom leaves the Havana, where of course is his principal residence, unless it be to the moderate distance of the Cerro, or Guanabacao, which can be accomplished in the course of an afternoon's drive. Many of the largest proprietors in the island, such as the O'Reillys and O'Farrels, are the descendants of Irishmen; and in the course of my residence at the court of Her Catholic Majesty, I had frequent occasion to meet with men bearing the fine old names of O'Donnel and O'Lawlor. The chief of the O'Donnels was the Conde de Abisbal, and his brother Don José, although the Captain-General of Valladolid, was suspected of a leaning to the side of Don Carlos. To prevent any open breach of his allegiance to the Queen, Her Majesty required his attendance at court, where, as I happened to be lodged near him, he often came into my rooms of an evening to rub up, as he said, his English recollections, and take his hand at a rubber of whist. His knowledge of the English language was exceedingly respectable, allowance being made for the fact that it had been handed down to him in his family, for I cannot tell how many generations, and that neither he nor his

father had ever been out of the peninsula; but it was enshrined in such a sonorous and strongly-marked Milesian brogue, as does not now enrich the language in the remotest corners of Connaught. The Creole grandees of Irish origin have lost, I fear, the brogue and the language together, leaving nothing but the name to tell the tale of grievances and wrongs which had driven their ancestors into exile.

The estate of Alexandria was falling rapidly into decay, but from causes which were evidently less discreditable to the proprietor and the subordinate authorities than those which forced themselves so painfully on the attention at La Holanda. Alexandria had formerly produced 5000 boxes of sugar, but of late years the utmost return that could be obtained from it scarcely reached a fifth part of that quantity. The mayoral, and one of his colleagues who was with him at the time of my visit, made a very favourable impression on my mind from their manner, appearance, and style of conversation. They were unwilling, it must be confessed, to acknowledge the true cause of the deterioration of the estate, which was to be ascribed in a great measure to a deficiency of labour. They denied, however, that any of the negroes attached to the property had been removed or disposed of; so that the dilapidation had arisen in the ordinary course of nature, no fresh Bozals having been purchased to supply the place of those who had been carried off by that stern law of mortality which so rapidly and ruthlessly cuts

down the gangs of negro labourers on the sugar estates of this country. No attempt has yet been made in the worn out districts of Cuba, as has been done so successfully in the longest settled British islands, to regenerate the soil by a good system of husbandry and a liberal application of manure. As the old are abandoned new estates are gradually formed, and the forests of cedar and mahogany, which have not, perhaps, been penetrated since the days of Columbus, make way for the *Ingenio* and the *Cafetal*, the waving cane fields, and the picturesque plantations of coffee and cocoa.

The field gang on Alexandria amounted nominally to 102, but of these only thirty were efficient, so that it became necessary to hire an additional thirty during the season of crop. The mayoral assured me that there had been but one death on the property, and that a case of old age, during the whole of the previous year. He admitted, however, that the mortality on sugar estates depended in a great degree on the mode of treatment, on the relative proportion of the hours of labour and rest, and on the quantity and quality of the food allowed to the labourers.

The whole district of country on which Alexandria and Holanda are situated, to the eye of an unpractised observer has all the appearance of being a dead level for many leagues around; but in point of fact it is a plain of vast extent, with such a decided inclination towards the south, that the aqueduct which moves the machinery on these estates finds a sufficient fall for the purpose after

being carried some two thousand yards across the cane fields to the buildings of the Ingenio. Such is the wretched condition of the roads, in a country where there are no rivers to cross, and no mountains to overcome, that in order to diminish the expense of moving all heavy articles, each estate is made as independent as possible of external supplies, even to the manufacture of the earthen cones or forms into which the liquid sugar is poured, for the purpose of purification. This pottery process is sufficiently clumsy. The clay is kneaded in a sort of basin, formed in the earth with a post fixed in its centre, around which a yoke of oxen are made to travel in a circle of the narrowest possible diameter. This fact serves to stamp the character of the process of sugar making throughout this extensive district.

The only Ingenio in this district at which I found a resident proprietor was that of Los Honores, belonging to a Señor Mantilla. It is situated within a league of the railway, the nearest point of which is the town of San Felipe. Here the reception I met with from the mayoral, although not positively uncivil or repulsive, was exceedingly cold and laconic, when compared with the treatment I had experienced under circumstances nearly similar at other places in the neighbourhood. The only difference was, that the proprietor was on the spot, and yet did not choose to show himself. The mayoral felt that his master's eye was upon him; and although he did not refuse to allow me to inspect the premises, he was evidently

uneasy under the few observations I took the liberty of making. With 211 negroes they contrive here to make 2000 boxes of sugar. They have not the advantage of water power; and steam engines in the island of Cuba are exceedingly rare, so that the process of grinding is performed by the power of cattle, moving in gins, which with the vertical rollers with which they are connected are called *Trapiches*. In the neighbourhood of this Ingenio, I observed a very large two-storied stone building, with strongly barred windows, which I was very desirous of entering; but on perceiving that permission would be granted reluctantly, I did not persevere in my request. This prison-looking building was called the *Infirmeria*, but it was evidently large enough to accommodate the whole population of the estate. I did not meet with any positive discourtesy until I had taken leave of the mayoral and got into my *Volante*, when some one from the windows of the great house called out to my *Calesero*, in a tone which seemed to me to savour of the imperious, that the heads of his horses were not in the right direction, and that he must follow the beaten track, which he dignified with the name of a road, although, to do the *Calesero* justice, no trace of more than a bridle-path was to be discovered; because in the middle of December the process of sugar-making and the ordinary business of the estate had not been begun.

In the neighbourhood of Bejucal I visited several sugar estates, and was better pleased with

that of Santa Anna, the property of Don Francisco de la Luz, than any I had yet seen. Here we found ninety negroes, of whom, however, only thirty were women. The people were allowed three meals a day, an instance of liberality which the mayoral asserted was peculiar to that estate; and at each meal they were allowed four ounces of salted codfish or jerked beef. The Senora de la Luz, the mother of the proprietor, was represented as paying very marked attention to the personal comfort of her people, as well as to their morals, and the due observance of their religious duties. At this the mayoral, who had himself been thirty years in the family, although perhaps originally a mere domestic, affected to sneer, because, perhaps, he did not like to be thought singular.

On my return I overtook a priest, with whom I entered into conversation on this subject. His report was highly favourable to what he called the good old system of having an *oratorio*, and a chaplain on each estate; but, with the single exception of Santa Anna, the practice had fallen into abeyance all over the country. In general he said a field negro was never in church in the whole course of his life, except at the time of his baptism. If the *Ingenio* or the *Cafetal* happened to be close to a town, a few favoured individuals might be allowed to go there when the crop season was over, but never by any chance, or under any circumstances, during the busy period of the year. The people at Santa Anna were comfortably clad in thick blanket shirts, and afforded evidence in

their strong healthy appearance that the food provided for them was wholesome and plentiful. But the season of comparative ease was now drawing to a close, and the crop season was approaching, when, according to the admission of the mayoral, only four hours, or at most four hours and a half, out of the twenty-four were allowed for sleep. A similar statement made to me on the first estate I visited was so startling, that I was compelled to suspend my belief. As it was everywhere admitted, however, and even here at Santa Anna was spoken of without disguise, as the regular system on an estate which, by common consent, was allowed to be managed with unexampled consideration and humanity, I was at length compelled to yield my reluctant belief. Even here, in the empty boiling-house, I found a poor negro with one leg in the stocks. The night before had been piercingly cold, as it often is in Cuba, and negroes are proverbially more sensible to it than white men. I need not say, therefore, how horrifying was the unheeded appeal of the solitary prisoner to the mayoral as we passed, of "mucho frio! mucho frio!" The average produce of this estate is 700 boxes of sugar, 80 hogsheads of molasses, and no *aguardiente*.

The Marques de San Felipe has a large unoccupied house in the town of Bejucal and several estates in its neighbourhood. I visited that called La Pita, the first I had seen in the island provided with a steam engine. It was a high pressure machine, of eighteen horse power, constructed in America. The working engineer was a native of

Belfast, who had come to the island after passing some years in the United States, and had brought two of his brothers with him, both of whom had found employment as engineers on other estates. With the engine which had just been erected, I was told that as much cane juice could be expressed in twelve hours as with the two old cattle mills, or *Trapiches*, still standing there, in twenty-four; but that after all, in the opinion of the sugar boilers, it would not supersede the necessity of night work, a practice so injurious to the health, and, in fact, so fatal to the negro. This practice has been elsewhere demonstrated to have no better foundation than an idle prejudice, arising from the belief that the kettles or sugar-pans ought never to be allowed to cool from the commencement of the crop season to the end of it.

On this property the mayoral manifested a more humane disposition than I had previously had an opportunity of observing among men of his class; and yet he made no difficulty in acknowledging the atrocious details of the system which it was his daily duty to administer; such as flogging *ad libitum*, together with four hours' sleep and short commons twice a day. To my great disgust the Belfast engineer, who had followed me into the house of the mayoral, tried to soften the matter by misrepresenting the fact, making the time allowed for sleep and *descanso*, which includes all that is not employed in actual labour, much more than it was in reality. In the house of the mayoral I met with the medical attendant on the estate,

and also with the mayordomo, whose duties, instead of applying to household affairs, as the name would imply, are connected exclusively with the superintendance of the labour in the field, while the mayoral keeps the accounts and orders the supplies. From the surgeon I learned that the mortality during the year had been no more than five, on a gang consisting of 161 negroes, 48 of whom were females. Of these five two had died of old age, two of internal inflammation, and the fifth of a pulmonary affection, which the surgeon represented as a disease of very rare occurrence. If the deaths were not numerous the births were still less so, as only one had occurred within the year. The last crop had produced 757 boxes of sugar, but that of 1839, with the aid of the steam engine, was expected to reach 1000.

On all the estates I have visited the most tender point with the mayoral is his bill of mortality. Not that he affects any morbid sensibility on the subject as an abstract question of humanity, but because his own character as an economist, in the humblest sense of the term, is seriously involved in it. This I found remarkably the case at an estate near Bejucal, the property of Don Joaquin de Cardenas, where the mayoral, whom I met in the field, armed to the teeth, with pistols, a cutlass, and a still more awe-inspiring weapon, a tremendous cart-whip, would not allow himself to acknowledge any mortality whatever. It is true that his gang of 100, containing 39 females, had not a single counterbalancing birth to exhibit, so

that, according to his authority, his master Don Joaquin was in the enviable position of enjoying an estate producing 600 boxes of sugar, with no useless mouths to feed, and no vacancies to be supplied by the purchase of bozals.

Of all the tortures inflicted on the poor negro, the smallness of the modicum of sleep allowed him was what puzzled me the most at the commencement of my inquiries, and in the end excited the most painful emotions. The injunction of the Roman slave master, although by birth a Spaniard, seems never to have reached the minds of his descendants; at least it does not affect their practice in the New world —

"Detur aliquando otium quiesque fesset." — SENECA.

In the course of one of these excursions, I had the good fortune to meet at the Posada where I was to lodge for the night an intelligent French emigrant, M. Bonhomme, who, for the last nineteen years had kept a saw-mill at Cienfuegos, a thriving village on the southern coast of the island. The visit to the Havana, from whence he was then on his way home, is so perfectly characteristic of a corrupt and despotic government, that I cannot refrain from repeating the story he told us. Nearly a year before, a white man, who spoke the language of Bonhomme like a native of *la belle France*, had come occasionally to his sawing establishment, and courted his acquaintance on the score of his being a compatriot. M. Bonhomme acknowledged that he had repeatedly entertained the man in his

house and at his table; but it was with unspeakable surprise that he afterwards found a serious charge brought against himself, of his having harboured a deserter. It turned out that the man was a native of Spanish Navarre, where, as on the French side of the border, the two languages are spoken indiscriminately; but M. Bonhomme most solemnly denied all knowledge or suspicion that his guest had ever served in the army. In consequence of this charge it became necessary for M. Bonhomme to leave his business at Cienfuegos, and proceed to the Havana, for the purpose, as he innocently thought, of rebutting the accusation; but, as it afterwards proved, to see that accusation made a pretext for extracting from him a considerable sum of money. As a matter of special favour he was suffered at the Havana to be at large, on finding security for his good behaviour; but although not a vestige of evidence was adduced of any thing like a guilty knowledge that the Navarrese had really served the Queen's government as a soldier, either in Europe or America, M. Bonhomme found it necessary, after nine months' detention, to purchase his release from the charge by a payment of some three thousand dollars in name of costs and gratuities to his accuser, besides the loss he sustained in his business and his personal and travelling expenses. Before this event he was perfectly content with the country, was reconciled to the climate, and considered himself a favourite in the neighbourhood where he lived; but now, on his return, he as-

sured us of his unwavering resolution to wind up his affairs without delay and return to his native country, which he had never expected to see again, intending to end his days either in Paris or Lyons. In early life he had been drawn as a conscript, and had served under Napoleon in Spain, where he acquired the language of the country and first conceived the idea of visiting Spanish America. Being by trade a carpenter, he also informed us, in his own humorous way, that he had done his *possible* to damage the interests of England by assisting in the construction of the celebrated flat-bottomed flotilla at Boulogne.

What I afterwards learned of M. Bonhomme's character from the French Consul-General, M. Mollien, gave me such a favourable impression of his impartiality as a witness, and his integrity as a man, that I felt myself bound to receive the evidence he furnished me on points unconnected with his own private affairs with more confidence than I should otherwise have reposed in a person who was a stranger to me, and who was undoubtedly labouring under strong feelings of irritation against the colonial government. He was the more entitled to this confidence, as his statements were in all respects confirmatory of the deplorable account I had previously received from a much valued friend as the result of inquiries extending over a series of years, and conducted with equal intelligence and circumstantiality, impartiality and zeal. M. Bonhomme's account of the treatment of the negroes on the sugar properties in his neighbour-

hood was, in fact, most deplorable. He entered with the minutest detail into the whole system of agricultural management of estates, the distribution of labour in the field and within doors, and the nourishment allowed to the slaves, with all which he was most evidently familiarly conversant; and the general import and effect of his narrative, as I have said, came to my mind with very great force, supported as it was by previous evidence which I had no right and no disposition to call in question.

CHAP. XV.

COFFEE-GROWING. — TASK WORK.

THE coffee districts of Cuba, as of most of the other islands, are much more agreeable to the ordinary traveller, and much less offensive to the philanthropist, than the more fertile and more profitable regions where the sugar cane is cultivated. When a *cafetal* is once formed the care and protection of the trees, the gathering of the fruit, and its removal to the barbecue, as the place for laying it out to dry is called in Jamaica, make when added together, an amount of labour which is not to be compared with the toil of digging the cane holes, weeding the young plants, cutting down the canes, carrying the tops to the stables, and the canes themselves to the mill preparatory to the process of grinding. The work within doors, in ease and lightness to the labourer, is equally in favour of the *cafetal.* The watching and skimming of the liquor in the boiling house, the turning it over with great spoons or ladles from one copper to another, and the feeding and attendance on the fires, have no sort of parallel in the turning over of the coffee, or in submitting it when it is sufficiently dry to the machinery by which its husk is to be removed. Accordingly, it appears that while nineteen and a half or twenty hours' labour

are expected from the unfortunate negro whose master is a grower and manufacturer of sugar, the more moderate quota of sixteen or perhaps fifteen hours a day are all that is required, if the owner of the slave be also the proprietor of a coffee plantation. The natural consequence inevitably follows, that while the sugar-making slave, beginning his labours at sixteen or eighteen years of age, has certainly on an average not more than ten years to live, the coffee-picking slave may fairly reckon on twenty-five or thirty years, without ever having endured the same severity of toil or the same intensity of suffering. Nay, the coffee-picking gang are not expected or required to produce on an average more than fifteen, or at most twenty quintals a head; while the sugar-making gang must be whipped up to the average of ten boxes a head, which will weigh at least thirty quintals.

Thus on the *Cafetal del Uva*, one of the first that I visited, between San Felipe and Batabano, I found that with thirty working negroes and 70,000 trees the produce was 550 quintals, which was equal to about eighteen quintals per negro and $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per tree. My reception by the proprietor of Del Uva was far from being flattering at first; but when he found in the course of conversation that my designs were far from being hostile, he gradually relaxed into civility, and even displayed a disposition to be communicative as to many of the points on which I desired information. He admitted that the number of hours' labour on coffee estates generally was sixteen on the average per

day; and that when the fruit was coming fast to maturity, it was customary for the overseers to send out their gangs, as often as the moonlight served, to gather it by night. The mortality on coffee properties he gave me at 5 per cent. per annum, which considerably exceeds the general average I obtained from a great number of other inquiries. That average was not more than $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

The information obtained at the *Cafetal del Uva* was in a great measure confirmed by another very reluctant witness, Don Antonio Garcia, the proprietor of the *Cafetal Ubajai*, whose estate I was unable to reach after several unsuccessful attempts, in consequence of the wretched state of the roads; but who assured me when I met with him at length as his summer residence in the town of *Marianou*, that on some future occasion he would accompany me to Ubajai, *con muchissimo gusto*. He told me, with all the florid forms of Spanish courtesy, that his house was entirely at my disposal, a ceremony which was rendered indispensable by the letters I had brought for him; but although he must have been perfectly aware of the fatigue of my journey and the jaded state of my horses, he made no specific offer of civility, but let me jog on through the mire, in a country where the accommodation of an inn is utterly unknown, and where every attempt to hire fresh horses proved equally unavailing. Don Antonio stated that he had 110 slaves on his property of Ubajai, and that the produce from 200,000 trees was 1300 quintals.

His statement of the rations he allowed to his people was greater than I had heard of elsewhere. They had two meals a day, he said; one of which consisted of a pound of jerked beef and twelve plantains, the other of a pound of *yucas* or yams. These allowances were undoubtedly sufficient, and I should have been delighted to have found them more general in other parts of the island. The daily labour he stated at fifteen hours, and the deaths at 5 per cent. per annum; but he agreed with every other witness I have questioned on the subject, that on sugar estates the labour and the mortality were both much greater. In spite of this admission, Señor Garcia insisted that a negro sugar-boiler was not worse off than a British seaman on board one of her Majesty's ships. On this point I made some attempt to enlighten his understanding; but I fear that I left him quite as determined as before to entertain this justification of the worst practices of slavery.

It was the revolution in St. Domingo which gave the first great stimulus to the cultivation of the coffee plant in the island of Cuba. The emigrants and refugees sought shelter wherever they could find it in the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago, or on the nearest points of the American continent. The greatest numbers established themselves in Cuba and Jamaica; but it has been remarked that those in less easy circumstances made their way to Cuba, while the wealthier classes preferred the protection which the British government afforded them. A sort of

social revolution, affording some striking indications of national character, has since taken place in the affairs of these refugees. In the English, as in the Spanish island, they have undoubtedly been the means of turning land that was otherwise useless to profitable account; of improving the culture of the coffee, as well as the mode of preparing it for the market, and of increasing its production to a very large amount. In Jamaica, however, the coffee planters of French or St. Domingo origin have not been able to withstand the competition of their English rivals, and have sunk into a state of comparative insignificance; whereas in Cuba, having only Spaniards to contend with, they have succeeded in rising in the social scale, and in maintaining their ascendency till the period which seems now to be arriving, when the coffee grower is to sink before the sugar planter in consequence of the demand for sugar having increased in a more rapid ratio than the corresponding demand for coffee, combined with the fact that the supply of labour, although great, is still inadequate to the demand for it. Coffee can be produced more cheaply in other countries; but Cuba is likely to maintain its acknowledged ascendency in the production of sugar.

Of all the new enjoyments of which the knowledge is acquired by a visit to the intertropical regions, those that reach us through a sense which in the old world is productive of as many painful as pleasurable emotions are, in my opinion, the most exquisite. Without leaving Europe a traveller

may learn how delightful it is to take his early walk in an orange grove during the season when the trees are in bloom; the gardens of the Tuilleries may give him a faint idea of it just before the ancient denizens of the *orangerie* have been despoiled of their crop of blossoms, that the distiller may convert them into orange-flower water; but the fragrance of the Tuilleries is as inferior to that of the Moorish gardens of the Alcazar at Seville as these last, with all the care bestowed on them, are excelled by some neglected orange grove in Cuba or St. Domingo. Nor is the rich fragrance of the orange grove to be compared for a moment with the aromatic odours of a coffee plantation, when its hundred thousand trees have just thrown out their unrivalled display of jessamine-like flowers, reminding you of what you may have read in Eastern fable of the perfumes of Araby the blest.

It is a moot point in history whether the discovery of the use of the fragrant bean is to be ascribed to a sleepy dervise, who found the bad consequences of neglecting his religious duties, or to the superior of an eastern monastery, who prescribed by way of penance a dish of coffee to his monks when they discovered any disposition to slumber during their nocturnal devotions. To whatever accident the discovery may be ascribed, it is very well known that the beverage was in habitual use at Constantinople at least a century before a coffee-house was heard of in Paris or London. Its merit, or at least its attraction, is amply substantiated by the fruitless endeavours of

successive sultans to abolish it, from the fear lest the houses where it was sold should become places of public resort where the measures of government might become the subject of discussion.

In 1672, at the fair of St. Germain, prepared coffee was first sold publicly; but it had previously been introduced at the court of his Most Christian Majesty by Soliman Aga, and soon afterwards an Armenian established in Paris the first coffee-house that ever existed in Western Europe. As soon as it became less an article of luxury and fashion than of comfort and necessity, the greatest efforts were made by such of the European powers as possessed colonies within the tropics to carry thither the coffee tree, and accustom it to the climate. The Dutch were the first who succeeded. They carried it from Moka to Batavia, and from Batavia they brought specimens to Amsterdam. The burgomasters of that city sent a tree as a present to Louis XIV., who caused it to be carefully cultivated in the hot-houses of the Garden of Plants. From thence in 1720 it was transferred to Martinique by M. Declieux, who was the first to introduce it in America. After being naturalized in Martinique the French planters of St. Domingo followed the example; and from St. Domingo it was carried to Jamaica, from whence it spread rapidly over the whole of the West Indies.

At the period of the breaking out of the French revolution the cultivation of coffee could scarcely be said to have reached the South American continent; so that till then its cultivation was in a great

measure confined to Arabia and the Caribbean Archipelago. Its extreme scarcity during the war enhanced its price so enormously, that on the first announcement of peace in 1814 the plants were multiplied to infinity, and coffee plantations were formed in every possible situation,— on the Costa Firme of South America, along the Brazilian shores of that continent, and even at some points on the coast of Southern Africa.

To show the extreme rapidity with which the cultivation has been extended, take the statistical returns of La Guaira, the chief port of the new state of Venezuela, from whence the whole export of coffee in the year 1789 was not more than ten tons; and of late years from that port alone, and in spite of the internal dissensions of the country, it has reached the enormous quantity of 2500 tons. In the Isle of Bourbon and the Mauritius the planters have also applied themselves to this branch of industry; it has been prosecuted successfully in our eastern possessions; and the French government, not content with the natural influence of the universal demand for it, have been endeavouring to stimulate the production by means of premiums and other artificial advantages.

In forming a coffee plantation, as in the establishment of an ingenio, the choice of situation and soil becomes a consideration of the first importance. A very high temperature is by no means a favourable condition. If a spot could be found where the range of the Fahrenheit thermometer did not sink below 75° nor rise above 80°, and where the

soil was otherwise suitable, no planter could desire a more favourable situation. In the mountainous islands of Jamaica and St. Domingo the nearest approach to this temperature is found when the elevation is not less than 2000, and not more than 3000 feet above the level of the sea; and it is within these limits accordingly that coffee is most successfully cultivated in the two islands I have named. The island of Cuba being much less mountainous, but at the same time being nearer the tropical limit, the planter in seeking the degree of heat he requires is forced to confine himself in a great measure to the northern side of the island, where accordingly we find that the cultivation of coffee is most successfully carried on.

The vicinity of the *cafetal* to a convenient place of embarkation enters largely, of course, into the consideration of the planter when choosing a suitable locality. A compact form is also thought desirable, in order to save the time and labour of the negroes; and the ordinary extent is about six caballerias, or something less than 200 English acres.

The locality being finally chosen, such open places are formed or selected, from distance to distance, as may be found most suitable, in respect to shade and moisture, for the establishment of convenient nurseries. The fruit, which has been gathered in the beginning of the month of October, and which has been dried in the shade, is preferred for seed. The seed is sown in drills half a yard asunder, and introduced two beans together, by

means of a dibble, into holes two inches deep and ten or twelve inches apart. The extent of one of these nurseries is generally about 100 yards square, which, with such intervals as I have mentioned, ought to contain about 60,000 plants.

A quarter of a *caballeria*, or about eight English acres, is usually set apart in a central and convenient position for the site of the buildings, and for growing provisions for the use of the labourers on the future plantation. The cutting down of the timber is generally performed by contract, and, as stated elsewhere, almost always by the hands of white men; the untutored African being not only unequal to the task, but being liable, from habitual heedlessness, to serious accidents by the falling of the trees and the awkward use of the hatchet. It is not uncommon to cut down the trees indiscriminately, beginning, of course, as from so many centres, at the site proposed for the buildings, and the open spaces laid out as nurseries; but it is considered a better practice to preserve a certain portion of the native forest trees to serve as shade and shelter for the young plantation. This is not possible, of course, if fire be employed in clearing the ground; but that is a system which is condemned alike in the formation of coffee as of sugar plantations. In favourable seasons it is found that heavier crops are obtained from coffee trees left wholly unshaded; but, in the average of years, it seems to be settled, in the island of Cuba at least, that a moderate degree of protection from the

scorching rays of the sun produces a steadier and upon the whole a more advantageous return.

The distribution of the land into right-angled sections, and the planting of the trees in straight lines, is so contrived as to favour the future supervision of the labourers, much more than from any strict attention to mere symmetry. The distance of the trees from each other ought to be regulated by the quality of the soil, and the degrees of heat and shade they are to enjoy. The ranges from north to south are usually four yards apart, and those from east to west not more than three; but the lower the temperature the wider should be the interval, because in that case the vegetation is more active and more rapid, and the tree requires a wider space over which to extend itself.

The best season for planting the trees is the middle of the month of May, if there be then a sufficient degree of moisture; but the operation is often performed successfully during the rainy month of October; subject always to the risk, however, of serious injury to the young plantation from the north winds which prevail at that advanced season of the year. The holes prepared to receive the plants are eighteen inches in diameter, and about two feet deep.

In the island of Cuba there are two rival modes of planting the coffee tree. The one is called "la siembra à la mota;" the other "la siembra à la estaca."

By the method "à la mota" a circle is formed around the plant in the nursery, and care is taken

to remove it without disturbing the earth around the roots. The plants are then placed carefully in willow baskets prepared for the purpose, and carried to the holes already opened for their reception; gathering up the earth around the stem and pressing it carefully down with the foot, in such a manner as to form a sort of basin or filter for the reception of the rain water, and for suffering it to percolate among the roots, and also to provide a convenient place of deposit for the subsequent application of manure.

The siembra "*à la estaca*" is differently executed. Such plants are selected from the nursery as are of the thickness of the little finger, or from that to an inch in diameter. In withdrawing them from the ground great care is taken not to injure or compress the bulbs or buttons within eight or ten inches of the level of the soil, because these are to serve for the production of fresh roots when the "estaca" is afterwards planted more deeply in its permanent position. The greater part of the capillary roots are cut away with a knife; but a few, together with the principal root, are suffered to remain from four to six inches long. In planting them, from three to four inches of the trunk are left above ground. The little basin of earth for the reception and filtration of the rain water is not so large in the stake system of planting as in that with the clod of earth "*à la mota;*" but if the soil be poor, it must be proportionally enlarged, to admit the application of the necessary quantity of manure.

The stake system, requiring much less labour

than the other, is generally preferred; but when there is abundance of shade to protect the young plants from drought, and always, of course, in replacing the decayed trees of an old plantation, it is considered more desirable to remove the whole plant, its roots and branches entire, with as much as possible of the adhering soil from the nursery, according to the system "*a la mota.*"

In the third or fourth year of the plantation, the trees, according to the best system of husbandry, are pruned down to the height of three feet from the ground on the richest soil, and still lower in proportion to its sterility. All the branches which are not as nearly as possible at right angles with the trunk, are likewise removed by the pruning knife, so that in the following spring the whole stem is covered with fresh shoots. By this operation the power of nature seems to be exhausted, as for that year the trees in general bear no fruit; but in subsequent seasons the loss is amply repaid by a crop often greater than the branches can support, or than the flow of nourishment is always able to bring to full size and maturity.

The buildings on a coffee estate in the island of Cuba are generally of a very humble description. Compared with the proprietor of a sugar estate, the planter is generally in circumstances neither opulent nor even easy. Perhaps he cannot afford to live at the Havana; and in that case his residence is either on the estate, or in the nearest town or village. A rural population, in the English sense of the term, or a detached residence for a

person in the middle ranks of life, is scarcely known in the peninsula, on account probably of some feeling of insecurity. The habits formed in Old Spain have naturally been transferred to the other side of the Atlantic, and there, accordingly, we find that the planter is very rarely to be seen residing on his property. If there be a *casa de vivienda* at all, it is of very limited dimensions, fit only for the reception of its owner on a temporary visit, or, as a writer suggests in the *Transactions of the Patriotic Society*, it is so narrow and so uncomfortable that the negroes may be made to feel themselves more nearly on a par with their master, and so be more willing to put their shoulders to the wheel, in the hope that proprietor and slave may rise in the world together.

If the houses for the accommodation of the slaves afford more protection from the weather than the huts of the negroes in the British colonies, before the commencement of the apprenticeship, it is on account of the necessity of providing against their escape during the hours set apart for necessary rest. They are in general so close as to want the openings required for ventilation; and in their internal arrangements, there are seldom the means of classification into families, or even a decent separation of the sexes, supposing that there is more than one sex on the estate.

The place where the food of the negroes is cooked is uniformly a distinct building from the baracoon, in which there is rarely a chimney, on account of the danger arising from the careless use of fire; although in the island of Cuba the cold of

winter is much greater than is agreeable to the white inhabitants, and of course is felt much more keenly by the negro.

The machinery for removing the external pulp of the coffee bean is seldom of a very perfect description in this island, and the loss sustained in consequence is often very considerable. It is almost uniformly moved by the power of horses or oxen, working in a gin; and the name it bears is that of the *Descerezador*. The Barbecues, where the coffee is laid out to dry, are called indiscriminately *Tendales* or *Secaderos*. They are more numerous and of smaller dimensions than is customary in the British colonies, where a single Barbecue, laid down with tiles or plaster, is considered sufficient for a whole estate.

The warehouse for receiving the crop and preserving the coffee after it is put into bags and ready for the market, is generally of such limited dimensions as to be barely sufficient for the purposes for which it is designed; so that, when the harvest has been abundant, or when any thing has occurred to interfere with the despatch of what is ready for removal, the consequent accumulation is attended with serious inconvenience. In fact, the occupation of the coffee planter has been for some time on the decline in this island, owing to the superior rate of profit derived from the making of sugar; and every thing reminds you of it, the *molino de pilar*, the *aventador*, and the *separador*, down to the humblest implement of husbandry on the estate.

The gathering of the fruit commences in Cuba in August; but November and December are the most active and important months of the harvest. The labourers are sent out with two baskets each, one large, the other small. Every labourer has a file of coffee trees assigned him; the large basket he leaves near the place where his work is to begin; the other he carries with him to receive the berries from the trees; and as often as it is full he empties it into the large one. The baskets are made of rushes, willows, or bamboo; and the larger one is of such a size that three of them ought to fill the barrel, without top or bottom, which serves the purposes of a measure at the *Tendal* or *Secador*.

It is usual with the mayoral to insist on the labourers bringing home a large basket, heaped on each of the three occasions that the gang returns to the works,—at the breakfast hour, the dinner hour, and at nightfall; and although this must be a most unequal measure of the labourer's diligence, since at one period of the season, or in one part of the plantation, the difficulty of gathering a basketful may be much greater than at another, yet the practice is still persisted in. Thus imperfectly begun, it ought to have pointed the way to the system of task-work so successfully pursued in the British colonies, more especially at Demarara, and even on some well-managed estates in the French islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; where it is found that the negro in a state of slavery works more assiduously, more efficiently, and more profitably for

his master, when he has only a given amount of labour to perform in a given time, and when that being accomplished he knows that the remainder of the day will be his own, and that for a brief space before retiring to rest, he will in some sort be FREE!

The system of task-work is undoubtedly the very best preparation for freedom, inasmuch as it practically teaches the first principles of prudence and foresight, the application of which it promptly and suitably rewards. In the island of Cuba, moreover, it might be admirably combined with that humane enactment of the Spanish law of the Indies, which enables the slave to purchase his freedom by degrees; and, had it been carefully introduced and legally enforced in the British colonies, it might, perhaps, have entirely superseded, to the unspeakable advantage of all parties, the whole machinery of the apprenticeship. It is not too late for other nations to take a lesson from our example, and to profit by our minute points of failure, as well as by our general and undeniable success.

As long as the quantity of labour to be performed, under the system of task-work, remains to be decided by the master or the mayoral, it is liable, of course, to very great abuse. On every coffee tree there is a certain proportion of unripe fruit, long after the season for gathering in the crop has begun. The poor slave, knowing well that he will be whipped alike if he brings home green fruit, or if his basket be not full, is driven to the expedient of gathering his quota more hastily

than the interest of the planter would prescribe, taking care to bury or conceal what is unfit for the eye of the mayoral, or to steal from the heap of yesterday, on the *Secador*, wherewithal to fill his baskets to-day. The slaves in this island, although constantly characterised by the white inhabitants as the most stupid of animals, display, nevertheless, no small degree of ingenuity and cunning, not only in evading punishment, but in the appropriation of the goods of their masters. Nor are white men wanting, the keepers generally of hucksters shops and taverns, all over the country, to teach, assist, and encourage them in these spoliations.

Three baskets, or one barrel-measure of the newly gathered coffee berry, ought to produce thirty pounds of the beans, after the process of drying, the removal of the pulp, and the final preparation for the market. When there is a sufficient number, or a sufficient space of Barbecues or Secadors, sixty or seventy barrels only are put together; but from want of room it often happens that the quantity amounts to a hundred barrels. In either case, the whole is gathered into two great heaps, and in that state it is allowed to remain for four-and-twenty hours, in order to subject it to a certain degree of fermentation. After this, it is spread out to dry over the whole surface of the Barbecue, and until it is sufficiently so, it remains there uncovered day and night. When the desiccation is found to be far enough advanced, it is no longer exposed during the night; nor even during the day, if the weather be damp or unfavourable. The subsequent ope-

rations are certainly not better, probably not so well, conducted as in our own West India possessions.

Although exposed to all the arts and allurements of the receiver of stolen goods, as long as the produce remains on the estate, the planter considers his property to be in perfect safety as soon as it is entrusted to the carriers, who undertake to transport it to the place of embarkation. This whole class of persons are regarded as perfectly trustworthy, insomuch that there is not an instance on record where they have been known to abuse the confidence reposed in them. The bags being all properly marked, their number and weight are set down on a scrap of paper, which serves as the carriers' voucher, for receiving his freight from the agent of the planter at the place of embarkation. Receipts are never taken from a carrier on his taking charge of the goods; and it is very rarely thought necessary to verify the weight or the quantity at the moment of delivery.

The expense of forming a coffee plantation is not of course to be compared with the amount of capital required in the establishment of an ingenio. It is generally begun with a small force of labourers, perhaps not more than ten for the first year, and the following has been given me as an estimate and outline of the ordinary mode of proceeding: —The price of ten negroes, fit for such employment, is stated at $5000; the clearing of two caballerias of land, or sixty-four acres, $600; the salary of the mayoral, and the feeding of the negroes, $800; — making altogether $6400 for the first year.

In the second year, the number of the slaves will probably be doubled; the charges arising from the increased number of negroes to be fed are set off against the former expense of clearing the land, not now to be repeated, so that the advance of capital in the second year is equal to the first, making the whole $12,800.

In the third year, a master carpenter and a master mason become necessary; the salary of each being $600; also a superintendent of the works, with a salary of $400; and a further outlay of $500, for extra assistance in the carpenter's department. The number of negroes is also increased to thirty; and as in the third year, the payment of rent for the land commences at the rate of $144 per caballeria, the advance of capital for this year amounts to $8088, making the total advance in the three years, $20,888.

In the fourth year, it is presumed that the agricultural produce of the land and the first returns of coffee should be sufficient to meet all the current expenses. The outlay of this year, therefore, is confined to $10,000 as the price of twenty additional negroes, making the whole investment at the end of the fourth year amount to $30,888.

At the end of the fifth year there ought to be 40,000 coffee trees four years old on the estate, 60,000 of three years, and 100,000 of two and one year, the produce of which ought to be at least 400 quintals, which, at a moderate estimate, should be worth $2400. In this year there ought to be no salary to pay but that of the mayoral, which,

with the incidental expenses of the estate, ought to amount to $ 1200, leaving a similar sum of $ 1200 to be considered as a commencement of the return for the capital invested.

Thus the calculation goes on until we arrive at the end of the seventh year, when the estate ought to be in full bearing. We then find what the usual and average allowances are to the slaves in this island. The vacancies occasioned by death having been supplied by purchase, it is assumed that there are still seventy slaves upon the property. The quantity of jerked beef or other animal food allowed is 365 arrobas at the ordinary rate of $ 2 the arroba. This makes the daily ration of each individual slave about five ounces and a half, which is somewhat above the result of all my personal observation and inquiries.

The annual expense of clothing the seventy negroes is stated at $ 200; the allowance to the medical attendant $ 153; the charge for medicines and other hospital expenses $ 102; the salary of the mayoral $ 500; and for miscellaneous outlays $ 115; making the whole of the ordinary annual expenses amount to $ 1800, a very insignificant sum compared with the charges on a property of similar extent in any of the British colonies.

The returns are estimated at 3000 arrobas or 750 quintals, which, at eight dollars per quintal delivered free on board, make $ 6000. The minor products of the estate, such as Indian corn, pigs, and oil, are given at $ 1130, making the gross returns $ 7130, and after deducting the annual ex-

penses, leaving $5300 as the regular return on the capital invested, which, having been about $40,000, gives about thirteen per cent.; not certainly to be considered extravagant in a country where twelve per cent. is the regular rate of interest.

Had the supposed situation of the estate been within a league of a convenient place of embarkation, the capital required would have been less, and the returns much more considerable. In place of consuming the wood cut down in clearing the land, the whole of it, except so much as was necessary for the purposes of the estate, might be profitably converted into charcoal, the most active purchasers of which are the masters of the coasting vessels who make their living by carrying the produce of estates from the *embarcadero* to the Havana or some other shipping port. In that case the planter would commence his operations the first year with twenty negroes instead of ten; as with that number properly managed, and with an outlay of only $10,000 or $12,000, the whole expenses of the estate might be defrayed from the outset. It is almost unnecessary to add, however, that such favourable situations, combined with the necessary degree of fertility, are now becoming rare even in Cuba; and that, to obtain a sufficient return for the capital invested in the cultivation either of coffee or sugar, the proprietor ought not to trust implicitly to mayorals, mayordomos, or dueños, but must himself be an intelligent and practical agriculturist, disposed to devote the whole of his time

to the personal management of his estate during at least the first seven years of its existence.

The application of white labour in the island of Cuba to the cultivation of coffee seems much more feasible than to the making of sugar. Already, in fact, we find it far from being uncommon for the poorer classes among the free inhabitants to raise small portions of coffee without possessing the means of preparing it for the market. In that case they carry the newly gathered fruit for sale to the nearest *cafetal*, where they are accustomed to receive for the fruit merely dried, but with the husk still upon it, the half of the current price of coffee in the market. This custom, already established, seems to afford a basis on which a system of colonisation might be raised. It has been suggested that the proprietor of 300 acres of land, or ten caballerias, might divide it into sections, and let it to colonists on the condition that the half of each section should be planted with coffee trees, for the produce of which the proprietor should be bound to pay the half of the market price of prepared coffee, whatever that might be at the time of delivery. It would be necessary for him to reserve some thirty acres, or say one of the ten sections, on which to erect the necessary buildings. Supposing each colonist to have a *caballeria* allotted to him, he would be required to pay the same rent for it which the owner of the buildings had stipulated to pay to the government, which would be at the rate of $36 each.

The cost of erecting the buildings on a suitable scale of magnitude is estimated at $10,000. The

produce of coffee from each section is given at 400 arrobas, or 3600 arrobas for the whole of the nine sections. The average price of coffee free of the expense of carriage is assumed to be two dollars the arroba, or eight dollars per quintal, which would give a return of $7200, besides the repayment of the rent by the colonists.

The annual expense of the proprietor of the buildings would consist chiefly in the salary of a mayordomo or other superintendent, which may be taken at $400, and the wages for six weeks of twenty persons, chiefly women and boys, who might be found in the families of the colonists, and which at the rate of fifteen dollars would make $450. Two men would also be required from the beginning of November till the end of January, and one at the mill from the beginning of December till the end of February, whose wages, at the rate of fifteen dollars a month, would amount to $135. The colonists would of course be paid at the rate of one dollar the arroba for the coffee they brought to the mill, which, at 400 arrobas each, would procure them a comfortable subsistence, independent of the produce of their other half sections. The return to the proprietor of the buildings on his small capital of $10,000 would be upwards of 25 per cent., according to the estimate from which this summary is taken.

CHAP. XVI.

TOBACCO GROWING. — NATIVE FORESTS. — FRUITS. — CEREALS. — THE PLANTAIN. — INDIGO. — COTTON. — CACAO. — WAX. — DOMESTIC ANIMALS. — ORNITHOLOGY. — THE TURTLE. — FISHMARKET. — HONEY AND WAX. — THE JIGGER. — THE MOSQUITO. — THE ANT. — SEASONS.

In treating of the natural productions and the agricultural prosperity of the island of Cuba, the tobacco and the celebrated cigars of the Havana and Puerto Principe must not be left unnoticed. This important branch of industry was for many years in danger of being reduced to insignificance, if not of total annihilation, from the excessive care and protection bestowed upon it. In the year 1711 a regular factory was established at the Havana, for the purpose of encouraging the culture of tobacco; on which, nearly a century ago the peninsular government laid its hand for the purpose of extracting a contribution towards the necessities of the state.

The factory existed only for twenty-three years, and at the time of its extinction in 1734 a contract wat entered into by the Spanish government with Don Jose Tallapiedra, for the annual shipment to the peninsula of 120,000 arrobas of tobacco; of which 40,000 were to be of the best quality of leaf tobacco, the produce of the districts of Santiago, Sierra, and Bejucal, of that sort most in

request by those who chew the weed; 56,000 arrobas were to be of the kind required by the manufacturers of snuff; and 24,000 in the form of snuff already manufactured in the island, from tobacco leaves properly prepared and deprived of their fibrous stems. This contract was followed by others with the Marquess de la Madrid, which proved nearly as ruinous to the growers of tobacco as the factory had previously been. In place of resorting to the simple expedient of leaving the trade to take care of itself, the government thought it necessary to sanction the establishment of a second factory, for the purpose probably of facilitating the collection of the revenue.

The new factory was encumbered with the customary excess of functionaries; some of whom, with the title of *Visitadores de Vegas*, had the inquisitorial duty confided to them of superintending the cultivation of the tobacco, and thence of committing all sorts of abuses. These gentlemen soon contrived to abolish the manufacture of snuff in the island, in favour of their friends in the peninsula; and as the factory had become the sole purchaser of the tobacco itself, and so possessed the power of fixing its own price, the tendency towards reduction became so excessive as to bring the unfortunate planters to the very verge of ruin.

Not content with the extraordinary powers conferred by its monopoly, the factory applied for and obtained the sanction of the government to burn or otherwise expose to destruction such portions of the crop as the *empleados* thought fit to declare

to be unsuited to the market. The object of the factory in this unjust proceeding was of course to enhance the value of what had been already delivered or selected, so as to protect it more effectually from the risk of a contraband competition. But by thus creating a factitious scarcity, the factory often found it for its interest to save a portion of the property they had previously condemned, and send it to market at a most exorbitant profit. This grievous abuse of power had at length the effect of working its own destruction, and of throwing open the cultivation of tobacco to the same degree of freedom enjoyed by the other branches of agriculture in the island.

To such a degree of languor had the growth of tobacco been reduced by the factory system, that it was found necessary to import no less than 40,000 arrobas, in the year 1804, from the United States, so as to meet the demand of the retail trade in the Havana; and in that year a still greater quantity was sent directly to Spain from North America. Since the abolition of the monopoly there has arisen, on the contrary, a constant and steady demand in the great cities of the Union for the exquisite cigars of Puerto Principe and the Havana.

On the fall of the factory, the manufacture of snuff and cigars having begun to revive, and the parties engaged in this branch of trade having acquired a certain degree of influence, they thought it right in their turn to apply for the enactment of laws and regulations prohibiting the exportation of tobacco in the leaf, so as to confer on them a new

manufacturing monopoly. Such is the spirit in which the affairs of this island are still conducted, that this question of prohibition was seriously discussed in the bosom of the Patriotic Society, so lately as the year 1836; but it is scarcely necessary to add, that among that enlightened body, the principle of monopoly met with no favour or encouragement. The following is the truly patriotic resolution which the society has adopted on the subject: — "Nosotros, desconociendo el temor de los tabaqueros, nos damos el parabien porque nunca se promulgará la ley prohibitiva de la esportacion del tabaco en rama, por repugnarlo las luces del siglo: porque se opone á las mejoras proyectadas por el gobierno eminentemente justo de la angélica Isabel II. en union con las córtes del reino: y porque en ella se adoptaria una medida destructora para la isla de Cuba, que sin embargo de los progresos de la ilustracion, necesita aun de educarse á fin de llenar cumplidamente sus destinos. ¿No son una prueba irrefragable de lo dicho, las cuestiones que motivaron la publicacion del presente programa en su capital? No lo es asimismo el plausible empeño de la Real Sociedad Patriótica de establecer escuelas primarias en sus pueblos? ¿No lo acredita el hecho de empezarse ahora á hacerle caminos? El teson con que el Escmo. Sr. Gobernador y Capitan General ha destruido el juego y persigue otros vicios ¿no lo comprueban? ¿No lo es por ventura...? Necesita, pues, de educacion. Esta es una verdad muy triste, muy dolorosa; pero es una verdad."

In spite of the great advantages which the form of the island presents, in regard to facility of communication, the almost total want of roads between the interior and the coast, and the great and profitable demand for labour in raising and manufacturing the staple produce of the country, have withdrawn the attention of the proprietors from the important source of revenue which might be derived from the forests and forest trees of the island. The mahogany and the cedar, the ebony, the black and white guayacan, the courbana, the curey, the cerillo, the grenadillo, the hayajarico or yayajabito, and the wild orange tree, are classed among the precious woods of the country, and when found near the coast are generally destined for exportation. Those used in the building of houses and carriages, the construction of furniture and machinery, are still more numerous.

The palms are a numerous race, but although not of any value as timber, the *palma real* especially is applied in this island to many useful purposes. Its fruit, called the palmiche, forms an important article of food for the pigs; and cows and oxen do not refuse to eat it. The branches to which the fruit is attached are used as brooms, and the pointed summit, which resembles a cabbage or a lettuce in taste and flavour, is so much relished by the inhabitants, that large trees are often cut down to obtain it. The internal milky pulp of the tree is used in seasons of drought and scarcity for refreshing and feeding domestic animals. Its leaves and branches are employed in the roofing of houses. The ex-

ternal crust of the trunk is used in forming channels for irrigation and other similar purposes; so that almost every portion of the tree is turned to valuable account.

Of the fruits of the island the pine or anana is usually placed in the first class, but I confess I am disposed to give precedence to the oranges, shaddocks, and forbidden fruit, which even in their wild state are excellent. The fig and the strawberry are likewise to be found, although not so common. The nispero, or sapote de la India, is also an excellent fruit. The melon of Castille and the sandia, or water-melon, have been introduced from the peninsula with perfect success, and of plantains and bananas there is a great variety. The red and yellow mamey apple, called the mamey colorado, and amarilla, brought originally from St. Domingo, are abundant, and the lemons and sweet limes of the island are to be found in every thicket.

Among the roots used for food the sweet and bitter yuca are perhaps the most important. It is from the farinaceous root of the bitter yuca that the meal or flour, called Cassava or Casabe, is obtained. The juice of this root is highly poisonous before it is cooked, but the process of boiling seems to deprive it of its noxious qualities. In the back settlements of British Guiana, the Indians were formerly in the habit of reducing the juice to a sort of glutinous essence much esteemed at Demerara as an ingredient in the celebrated pepper pot. The flavour of this essence resembles so strongly the sauce sold by the oilmen of London under the

name of India Soy, that I am persuaded the Soy must be a preparation from it. This essence however is now brought to market in much smaller quantities than formerly, from the fact of the Indians having discovered that by carefully boiling the roots, the trouble of expressing the juice may be saved without danger. The bread is made in the form of very thin cakes, resembling in some degree the oaten bread so generally used by the Scottish peasantry. The sweet yuca, when cooked, is eaten as a root without being converted into bread. Of the sweet potato there are various sorts with an equal variety of names, batata, boniato, and moniato. The name or yam is of African origin, and is considered more nutritive than any of the sweet potatoes. The malanga is a coarser sort of yam, and from the sagu or sago the flour of that name is obtained. I have not happened to meet with either the tapioca or the arrow-root in this island, and not finding them among the official returns of the exports, it is to be presumed that their cultivation is not much attended to.

Of the cereal plants, the indigenous maiz, or Indian corn, is by far the most important. Two crops of it are obtained in the year; and before it grows to seed, its leaves which then bear the name Maloja are found to be an excellent food for horses, on which alone they can be maintained in such condition as to be fit for the hardest work to which they are exposed. There are two sorts of Indian corn in the island, the Maiz de Frio, and the Maiz de Agua. Rice is also produced in con-

siderable quantities in many districts of the island, particularly along the muddy belt surrounding the coast, to which allusion has elsewhere been made. The grains are smaller than those of the Carolina rice, but that produced in the island is preferred by the inhabitants. Beans of various sorts, *frijoles*, *garvanzos*, *habas*, and *chicharos*, are produced but not in great quantity, and wheat was formerly raised, but its cultivation has for some time been abandoned. The market gardeners of the Havana supply the tables of the inhabitants, especially in the dry season, with a vast variety of excellent vegetables; but in the country and even near the smaller towns this branch of culture is very little attended to. Attempts have latterly been made to introduce the beautiful or sweet-smelling flowers of colder or more temperate regions with tolerable success; and when once acclimated so near the verge of the tropics, it may become possible to transfer them to the other islands of the Archipelago; where, if they should lose some of their original fragrance, they will at least serve our expatriated planters as a reminiscence of home.

The value and importance of the plantain may be judged of by the estimate formed of it by the most intelligent agriculturists in the island of Cuba, who maintain, that 600 plants will maintain a whole family of ten individuals, and that a *caballeria* of ground, or thirty-two acres, will afford sufficient nourishment for 160 persons all the year round. Vast quantities of plantains are exported from this island to the United States; but as it is now found, that

they can be preserved for twelve months at least, by cutting them obliquely into slices, two lines in thickness, and then drying them in the sun, on the Barbecue of a coffee estate for instance, it is probable, that the demand for food at home will essentially interfere with this business of exportation. When perfectly dried, the sliced plantains are kept in the same sort of large boxes, which are used in the island for the preservation of rice. It has also been proposed to convert the plantain into a sort of coarse flour or meal, for the purpose of preservation; but this, as far as I know, has not yet been put in practice on a scale of any magnitude.*

* The disease which has attacked the plantain at Demerara, threatening to overrun the colony and extirpate that invaluable plant, on which, as an article of primary necessity, the whole population were at one time dependent, did not fail to engage my serious attention. Never having seen by any chance a male plantain at Demerara, in the course of my various excursions in the colony, I found as the result of my inquiries that the Dutch authorities had fallen into a grievous mistake on the subject. Seeing that the fruit of the male plant was smaller, less nutritious, and in all respects inferior to that of the female, and that during the whole period of their possession of the colony, the female plantain continued to be successfully cultivated from the root, by means of shoots or cuttings merely, after the trunk was cut down for the fruit, independent of the neighbourhood of the male, and without any apparent or perceptible deterioration, the Dutch governors conceived the idea of prohibiting under heavy penalties the growth of the male plantain altogether. In this their "high mightinesses" must have been actuated by the *cacoëthes gubernandi*, or by the absurd belief that the work of the God of Nature had been nimiously or imperfectly performed, and that a Dutch governor could improve upon it by promulgating regulations which were to set the leading law of the universe at defiance. In the island of Cuba,

The cultivation of indigo has been repeatedly attempted in the island, but never with much suc-

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there has been no such pernicious regulation; and there, after an uninterrupted enjoyment of it for 300 years, the plant remains as fruitful and as free from disease as ever. A thousand theories have been formed at Demerara, as to the cause of the calamity which has befallen the colony, but no one seems to have stumbled on the true one. The consequence is, that vast sums are now expended by the proprietors of estates, in the purchase or importation of rice or flour, potatoes or yams, from the United States or the neighbouring islands, to supply the deficiency. Believing that I had fallen on the much-desired remedy, I selected some of the healthiest male plantains I could find in the neighbourhood of Matanzas, where the soil most resembles that of British Guiana; and had them carefully packed up with the mould in which they grew, despatching the case containing them by one of Her Majesty's cruizers "The Pickle," Lieut. Hast, to Port Royal, Jamaica, there to be put on board the post-office packet, addressed to His Excellency Mr. Light, the present Governor of Demerara. Although I had not the honour of being personally known to His Excellency, I took the liberty of addressing him on the subject, and of begging that the Cuba roots might be planted in the midst of some of the plantain walks, where the disease had most decidedly declared itself; and I did not doubt, that not only a large proportion of the existing plants would be preserved, but that in the seed of future plantains the means would be obtained of extending and perpetuating the race throughout the colony. Not having yet had the honour to receive any answer from Governor Light, I am bound to ascribe the delay to any cause but want of courtesy on his part, such as the miscarriage of his letter in consequence of the long journey I have made in the United States and British America, since leaving the Havana, or from His Excellency's desire to put the soundness of the theory to trial before making a report upon it. In every case not doubting the perfect success of the remedy I have proposed, I here put in my claim for the reward so long unsuccessfully offered by the colony.

cess; although the shrub called the *Xiquilete*, from which it is extracted, grows wild in several districts of the island, but more especially towards its eastern extremity. The first *anileria*, or manufactory of indigo, was established in 1795, under the patronage of the *ayuntamiento* of the Havana, who made an advance of $3,500, without interest, to the party engaging in the speculation, in order to encourage the enterprise; but the undertaking proved unsuccessful, and the same fate has befallen every subsequent attempt to introduce this branch of industry. In 1827 the whole produce amounted only to 56 arrobas. In 1837 the imports of indigo greatly exceeded the exports; the former having amounted to 121,350 pounds, and the latter to 82,890 pounds.

The cotton cultivation of the island is inconsiderable, although the cotton plant thrives in many districts, and more especially on the stony and barren grounds near the coast. It has never engaged any large share of the attention of the planters, from the impression that the total value of a cargo is trifling compared with that of coffee, sugar, or tobacco; although it is not to be denied that it is raised at much less cost to the agriculturist than most of the other staples of the island. The production of the year 1827 is stated to have been 38,142 arrobas, and the total exportation 23,414, so that the consumption appears to have amounted to 14,728. This large quantity, considering the total want of spinning machinery, must have been consumed in the shape of candle-wicks, and for

other domestic purposes. In the year 1837 the export of cotton amounted to 26,987 arrobas and was valued at $33,733 6.

The cultivation of cacao is of comparatively recent introduction, but it was expected to increase and in some degree to supply the place of coffee, which is evidently on the decline. The tree requires very little care or expense, but is long of becoming productive. According to the statistical returns of 1827, the gross produce amounted to 23,806 arrobas, and the exports to 19,053. In the same year 15,301¾ arrobas were imported, so that at that period the production was not nearly equal to the consumption. The expectation of a great increase of production seems not to have been realised, as the exports of 1837 were only 587¼ arrobas, while the imports amounted to 40,837½ arrobas.

The wax of the island is considered equal in quality to that of Venice. It does not appear as an article of export in the official returns till the year 1770; and from that time till 1780, the average quantity exported appears to have been about 2700 arrobas. From that period a great demand for it arose in Mexico, Peru, and the isthmus of Panama, insomuch that in 1803 the exports from the port of the Havana alone had amounted to 42,700 arrobas, of which 25,000 were sent to the Spanish possessions in continental America. The interruption of the intercourse with the Paises Disidentes produced a corresponding defalcation in the demand, so that be-

tween the years 1815 and 1820 the export of this article from the capital had fallen on the average to 21,051 arrobas, and in the following five years, from 1820 to 1825, it had sunk to 16,300 arrobas. In 1826 it was 13,949½, and in 1827 it had fallen to 11,279. In this last year the quantity exported from the other ports of the island amounted to nearly as much more, so that the whole exports were 22,402¾ arrobas. The statistical returns make the whole produce of wax in the island for that year 63,160 arrobas, from whence it is inferred that the domestic consumption of the island amounted to 40,757¼ arrobas. Those who apply themselves to the management of bees have a separate resource in the sale of the honey. In 1827 the produce of this article amounted to 76,404 arrobas, the exportation to 11,700 arrobas, and the consumption to 54,704. In 1837 the exportation of wax had increased to 39,264½ arrobas valued at $ 171,800 1, while that of honey amounted to 3,380½ *bocoyes*, valued at $ 63,384 3; but as the contents of the *bocoy* are not specified in the official returns, it is impossible to establish a comparison between the exports of the years in question. The *bocoy* is used occasionally as a package for coffee, Muscovado sugar, and molasses. The coffee cask is either great or small, the *bocoy grande* containing 40 arrobas, and the *bocoy pequeño* 28. The sugar cask contains from 50 to 54 arrobas, and the cask for molasses 110 gallons.

Of the domestic animals the ox, the horse, and the pig, are by far the most valuable, and form a

large proportion of the wealth of the island; the sheep, the goat, and the mule are inferior in quality and numbers; but within these few years a number of the jackasses of the peninsula have been introduced and from them the mule has been propagated with great advantage. The rabbit has also been introduced, and dogs and cats are of course sufficiently numerous. The bloodhound, employed in former times in pursuit of the unfortunate Aborigines, and more recently to check the wanderings of the negroes, is not a native of the island, although it usually bears the name of the Cuba bloodhound. The Perro Jibaro is the common domestic dog, who has fled into the mountains, and has there resumed many of the marks of the *feræ naturæ*. Although at first of various races and colours, when restored to a state of nature they uniformly become rough in the coat, nearly black in colour, ferocious and carnivorous, although not quite so fierce as the wolf of Europe, and never turning on man until closely pressed in the chase. They live in the forests or in caverns, and, although the constant object of attack, they increase considerably in numbers, doing great damage to the pigs, sheep, goats, and other inferior domestic animals. The Gato Jibaro is in like manner the domestic cat, who has fled and become wild, and exceedingly destructive in the poultry yard.

Of domestic fowls the cocks and hens of Europe are by far the most numerous, and the English game cock is especially prized for its decided pugnacious superiority. The people of Cuba have an

extraordinary taste for the cruel sports of the cock-pit; which they combine with their passion for gaming, to such a degree, that among the rich *hacendados* upwards of $100,000 have been known to be lost and won, on the issue of a single main. The goose, the turkey, the pigeon, and the peacock, are also well known, and the parrot and parroquet are easily domesticated. The sylvan birds are numerous, and in great variety, many of them preferring the neighbourhood of the cultivated portions of the country. The partridge is greatly degenerated in these climates. Birds of prey are not numerous; and here, as in the other islands of the West Indies, the lazy-looking, bald-headed vulture or turkey buzzard is protected by law and custom on account of the important services it renders by the prompt removal of all sorts of carrion. The shortness of the time required in cutting up and consuming a dead ox, or a dead mule, is almost incredible; although, just before it fell, not one of these great horrid, heavy-looking animals was to be seen within the range of the visible horizon.

The reefs and shallows, and the interior sandy beach by which the island is lined throughout the greater part of its circumference, but especially on the side of the old Bahama Channel, the Isle of Pines, and the Cayos de Doce Leguas, are particularly favourable for the production of those species of turtle, from which the best quality of tortoise-shell is procured. It is in the sandy beach that the female turtle digs the hole, in which she

deposits her eggs, and it is generally on moonlight nights that they come on shore for this purpose. Should there be a reef facing the beach, and a rise and fall of tide, they wait for the rising of the water to float them over it, so as to reach the sand an hour or two before flood-tide, leaving time sufficient to dig the holes, deposit the eggs, and return to sea before the water on the reef has fallen. If the ascent be gentle, the holes or pits are dug at a considerable distance from high-water mark, in such secret places near the beach, among bushes or small hillocks, as can most conveniently be found. The holes are sometimes so large, that the mother turtle is occupied more than an hour in digging them. Those who go in search of turtle do not frequent the beach till near high-water; as that is the time when they are supposed to be on shore in the greatest numbers. The strictest silence must be observed, as they take the alarm at the smallest noise, and in that case those already on their way, in place of coming to the beach, will immediately return to sea.

There are other varieties of the Tortugo which inhabit the mouths of rivers, and the lagoons, both salt and fresh. In deeper water, in gulfs and bays, the crocodile and the cayman are found; the latter more especially where the water is stagnant. The manati belongs to the deep pools of fresh water, and the iguana, a sort of lizard, to the banks of streams, bays, and lagoons. In some places the land crab is so excessively numerous, as to become troublesome, and even dangerous to travellers on

foot or on horseback. For half a league at a time the whole surface of the ground will be undermined by them, producing often serious accidents, by entrapping the foot of the traveller or that of his horse. In some places the pigs feed on these crabs, to the great injury of their health. The common kind, the *Cangreja*, is about seven inches in diameter, without including the extremities.

The fish market of the Havana is better supplied, both in quantity and variety, than most of our West India cities. The Viajaca and the Mojarra are the most abundant; but as every island and every portion of the coast seems to have its peculiar species, it would be in vain to enumerate them. The Havana is the only place where I have seen the flesh of the shark exposed for sale in the market; although I have been told that the same thing happens not unfrequently in Kingston, Jamaica. Towards the end of a long voyage it would not be wonderful if seamen, after being restricted for weeks or months to salt provisions, should be willing to make a mess of this monster of the deep; but, although I have frequently seen them rejoice in the capture, pretty much as a farmer would at the destruction of a fox or a wolf, I have generally observed that the horrid carcase has been instantly thrown overboard to make food for his fellow-sharks. Oysters also are to be had, such as may frequently be seen hanging like fruit from the branches of the mangrove, a tree which girdles the coasts of most of the West India islands.

Snakes and reptiles are not very numerous in this

island. The maja, twelve or fourteen feet in length, and eighteen or twenty inches in circumference, is generally found in the near neighbourhood of country houses and other inhabited places, taking up its lodging in the roof, and preying on the poultry. It is represented as pursuing and killing the only aboriginal quadruped, the *hutia*, with an extraordinary degree of dexterity, catching it at the moment when, pushed to the extremity of the branch of a tree, it has jumped off to save itself. Man it seldom attacks, and its flesh and fat are supposed to be medicinal. A smaller snake, the *jubo*, about six feet in length, is considered more dangerous, and is also more common than the *maja*, not hesitating to attack a man on the slightest provocation. It lives generally on the surface of the ground, among stones and rubbish.

Among the insect tribe, the bee furnishes two important branches of export in its wax and its honey. In the higher grounds, and the cultivated regions of the island, the honey is of a delicious quality; but in many of the lower districts, especially near the coast, where there are shrubs and plants of a poisonous nature, the honey becomes also pernicious from the bees having fed on their flowers. The inhabitants, nevertheless, persist in making use of it for sweetening their coffee, at the expense of nausea and headache to those who have not been accustomed to its use. The negroes eat it in abundance, and in some places the dogs are said to feed upon it exclusively. There is another sort supposed to be indigenous, called the *abeja*

criolla, much lighter in the colour, and with a sting so short, that it scarcely makes itself felt. It builds its hive in hollow trees in the interior of forests or in clefts of the rock. Its wax is of a dark colour, but of a balsamic quality, and considered useful in healing wounds and reducing tumours, particularly such as have become callous ; that which is obtained from the interior part of the hive being preferred from its having a more powerful aroma. The honey is also darker in colour than that produced by the common bee, but its flavour, though strong, is agreeable. It often requires great courage to climb to the places in the rocks where their hives are formed; but the natives of the country are accustomed to it, and pursue it with all the ardour of a field sport. In those districts where this dark-coloured wax is produced, it is made into candles for the use of the neighbourhood, without being bleached.

The phosphorescent insects are also numerous in the island, and a dozen of the large sort, called the Cocuyo, when inclosed in a cage prepared for the purpose, will emit so much light, of a brilliant green colour, as to enable you to read by it. The late clever and eccentric Mr. Joseph, of Trinidad, assured me that he had written several volumes by this sort of light. They may be preserved alive for three months or more, provided they are frequently bathed, and their favourite food, a piece of sugar-cane stripped of its bark, is renewed at least daily.

Among the noxious insects, the nigua, or jigger as it is called in the British Islands, is perhaps the

most troublesome. It establishes itself in the hide of the pig, being almost imperceptible in size, and is to be found in all places frequented by that animal. When it finds its way beneath the human epidermis, it is not easy to dislodge it, particularly when it has formed its nest or purse between the nails and flesh of the toe. If not extracted within four and twenty hours, the nest will be filled with eggs, producing at first a violent itching, and afterwards an acute pain. In the attempt to dislodge them, the greatest care must be taken not to injure the part affected before cauterizing the little wound, otherwise the consequences may be serious. I have frequently seen negroes lame for life by their neglect of the ulcers produced by the attack of the jigger; and I have been told that in such cases the amputation of the limb has often been rendered necessary.

That species of the ant, called the vivijagua, is exceedingly destructive in Cuba, particularly in orchards and coffee plantations, but their depredations are not so much spoken of as in Trinidad and Demerara.

But of all the insect tribe, the mosquito family are the most vexatious, particularly on the swampy coasts alluded to elsewhere. They are of various sorts, the *coraci*, the *zancudo*, the *rodador*, the *jaguey*, and the *lancetero*; and the stings of many of them are so powerful that I have had the blood drawn through a thick leather glove, and the scars they have left have not entirely disappeared for many months. At St. Domingo I saw a gentleman

who was seriously lamed by the festering bite of one of these gallynippers, insomuch that he was obliged to be carried in a litter on board the ship by which he left the island. The sand-fly, although scarcely perceptible to the eye, is quite as troublesome as the mosquito, causing such a degree of irritation that in some cases it is said to have proved fatal.

The *polilla* is the moth which attacks libraries and wardrobes, and proves so destructive to books, MSS., and clothes. Shelves and drawers of cedar, Russia leather bindings and portmanteaus, afford some imperfect protection against the ravages of this insect.

Of the whole insect tribe, however, the spider of these climates is the most revolting; and its sting is so painful and poisonous as to produce fever, although not attended with serious risk. It is to be found both in town and country, and is considered by the inhabitants the most noxious insect which exists in the island.

The mancaperro bears some resemblance to the centipede, but is of a larger size, and takes its name from its attacking dogs and other animals by means of a sort of poisonous matter which it throws out, and so causes a malignant sore.

The scorpion is very different from that of Europe in form, and is much less injurious. The centipede is neither so large nor so common as in many of the other West India settlements.

Although the mountains of Cuba are not so high as those of Jamaica or St. Domingo, the more

northerly situation of the *Grande Antilla* gives a greater range to the thermometer than in any other of the West India islands. It has never been known to snow there, but frost occurs occasionally; and ice has been formed to the thickness of several lines when a strong north wind has for some time prevailed, bringing with it the cold air of the Canadas. This took place in 1801, and again in 1812, on some high ground in the neighbourhood of the Havana, about 350 feet above the level of the sea. Hail storms are not so uncommon, occurring in general when the wind is blowing strongly from the S. S. W.; and on the tops of the highest mountains after a copious dew the ground is frequently whitened with hoar frost.

Instead of summer and winter the seasons are spoken of as the rainy and the dry, although the period of demarcation is not very clearly defined. It is generally in May that the rainy season commences, but sometimes it begins in April, and occasionally not till June. Of late years, however, the island suffers much more from excessive drought than from rain. In some districts a fourth or a third part of the cattle have been cut off, and at other places as much as a half, from the mere want of water. The crops have probably suffered in an equal degree, although the amount of the loss is not so easily determined. These droughts are ascribed with every appearance of truth to the cutting down of the timber; and it has even been recommended that the local authorities should interfere to restrain the proprietors from denuding their

estates, especially on the mountainous ridges of the great Cordillera, so as to save some portion of the native forests, in the most favourable situations for attracting the moisture. The history of some of the longest settled islands in these seas seems to justify this suggestion; as we find that Antigua and Barbados, which now so frequently suffer from a season of drought, had nothing of that kind to complain of in the first century of their settlement, before the trees had disappeared.

Hurricanes are not so frequent in Cuba as in St. Domingo or the *Leeward* Islands, as by a strange perversion of language the smaller islands of the Archipelago are denominated in our post-office department. When they do occur it is generally between the middle of August and the middle of October. The French government assume that the dangerous season is from the 15th of July to the 15th of October; and during that period they compel their merchant ships, in the West Indies, to retire from the open roadsteads to places of greater safety. Spanish vessels are not exposed to any restraint, beyond the practice of the underwriters engaged in marine insurance; who are accustomed to increase their rates of premium on ships going to sea, after the 1st of August.

CHAP. XVII.

PROPOSED ADDITION TO TREATY. — SLAVE POLICY OF SPAIN. — ORDERS AND COUNTER ORDERS. — PORTUGUESE SYSTEM. — PORTUGUESE TRADE. — SPANISH TRADE. — POINTS TO BE WATCHED. — TRADING SEASON. — HEREDITARY BONDAGE.

I HAVE endeavoured to show that it is the fear of losing their remaining colonies which has prompted every successive administration in Spain to resort to the most disingenuous contrivances for the purpose of forcing the slave trade on the island of Cuba, to the great loss and disadvantage of the wealthiest and in every sense the most respectable class of its proprietors. Since the year 1817, when the treaty was negotiated, under which the courts of mixed commission were constituted, we have had more than twenty years' experience of their total inefficiency as an engine for the suppression of the slave trade; and now, since the conclusion of the treaty of 1835, which transferred the trade to the flag of Portugal, the courts at the Havana and Rio de Janeiro have been reduced to the condition of so many sinecures.

I have now with great submission to present the outline of a plan by which the efficiency of these courts may be restored, and which, if my Lord Clarendon could be persuaded to undertake it, would afford a satisfactory guarantee for the crowning of his Lordship's former labours in the cause of

African freedom with something like definitive success. I shall be liable, I fear, to the charge of presumption in making this proposal; but if I have been so fortunate as to discover a practicable mode of solving the problem which for the last half century has engaged the attention of so many statesmen and philanthropists, I am persuaded that the noble negotiator of the treaty of 1835 will think it no derogation from the dignity which belongs alike to his personal character, to the high place he holds in Her Majesty's councils, and to his brilliant European reputation, if by a further sacrifice on his part he were to hasten by a single year the term of practical abolition, and so save at least a hundred thousand individuals from falling victims to the slave trade.

In every negotiation with the Spanish government it is of course assumed that her Catholic Majesty is as desirous as we are to prevent the pollution of the soil of her trans-Atlantic dominions by the continuance of this wholesale system of murder. The suggestion I have now to offer would first of all apply an effectual test to the sincerity of those unblushing assertions so constantly addressed to our minister at Madrid by her Catholic Majesty's government, and by the captain-general at the Havana to the British commissioners, but hitherto in practice so totally disregarded.

It is matter of notoriety that in Spanish courts of justice, whether in the colonies or the Peninsula, all judicial proceedings, civil or criminal, take place with closed doors; the discussion is not

even conducted *vivâ voce.* The pleadings of the lawyers and the deliberations of the court are uniformly reduced to a written form, and are as perfectly private in their nature as it is possible to conceive. In what I have to suggest, therefore, there would not be room for the groundless pretence, set up as an apology by Captain-General Espeleta for his refusal to publish in the *Diario de la Habana* the royal order which enjoined him and his subordinate functionaries to use their utmost exertions for the suppression of the slave trade. That apology was the pretended fear of insurrection among the negroes.

By extending the powers of the court of mixed commission, conducted as its proceedings have always been, in strict conformity with the Spanish principle of closed doors, written pleadings, and secret deliberations, there could be no pretence for the fear of commotion, or of danger to the public peace, if it were suffered to consider the civil right, under the existing laws of Spain, of an imported African to his freedom, after the fact of his being landed in the island.

If this simple extension of the powers of the court were strongly pressed on the Spanish government by such a minister as Lord Clarendon, who has so often received the assurances of successive administrations of their earnest desire to abolish the traffic, the argument would be utterly irresistible; and the court of Madrid would be shamed into instant compliance.

It remains to inquire what would be the pro-

bable effect of this extension of the power and jurisdiction of the Havana court of mixed commission.

The first consequence would be to produce a radical and practical change in the legal condition of the imported African. As matters now stand, the mere fact of his touching the soil of the island is sufficient to doom him to perpetual bondage. Once put on shore, the interests of the slave-dealer are secured. From that instant the slave may safely be transferred into another ship, and removed to any other point of her Catholic Majesty's possessions. Thenceforward the property in the slave, having become an acquired, and, practically speaking, an acknowledged right, the pretended owner may laugh a whole squadron of British cruizers to scorn.

If the ordinary courts of justice would but do their duty, and if some poor Bozal were put into a position to assert his right to his personal liberty by the ordinary forms of judicial process, there cannot be a doubt that he would be entitled by the existing law to a judgment in his favour. The possessor of the slave might be compelled to prove his right of dominion over him; and that right could not be supported without a legal title.

The only real difficulty in the way is the unwillingness of the public functionaries, the judges not excepted, to carry the law into effect. Strictly speaking, there can be no legal right of ownership in a Bozal negro under the existing laws of the Spanish monarchy; and if the captain-general had

not been prevented by secret counter orders from carrying these laws into effect, the trade would long ago have been effectually suppressed. But —

——— "Quid leges sine moribus
Vanæ proficiunt?"

Most certainly the public barracoons, which notoriously exist under the very windows of the suburban palace of the viceroy, could never have been suffered to remain there to give a standing lie to his Excellency's professions. But place those barracoons where you please, they could not escape the attention of the British commissioners, nor of the superintendant of liberated Africans. The tried moral courage of the gentleman who now holds that office, and his distinguished zeal in the cause of abolition, would admirably qualify him for the performance of the duties of an official protector and assertor of the liberties of these newly-imported Bozals.

Suppose the court of mixed commission at the Havana to remain in its present form, and that by an additional article to the treaty of 1835 it should be authorised to deliberate on the right of an African to his freedom, as well after as before his merciless persecutors have thrown his body on the beach, it would not be easy for any minister in Madrid, in dealing with Lord Clarendon, after all that has passed on the subject, and after all the solemn assurances of the sincere desire of the Spanish government to abolish the traffic, to bring forward any plausible pretext for refusing his consent to this extension of the jurisdiction of the court, rendered

indispensable by the acknowledged evasion of the equipment clause and by the notorious transfer of the trade to the flag of Portugal.

The present commissary judge, Mr. Kennedy, has frequently been made to feel the insufficiency of the powers with which the mixed court is vested, for attaining the object contemplated by its institution. He has been drawn into angry correspondence with the captain-general, on the subject of the systematic evasion of the laws of the country, of the terms of the treaty, and of the requirements of the royal orders sent out from Madrid. He is told in answer that his language is *poco decoroso*. No redress is given, and the judge is driven to the necessity of asking for further powers to enable the court to carry these royal orders into execution.

The equipment clause itself is found to require amendment. In some respects it is imperfect, and in others liable to evasion. The services it has rendered, however, are proved by the fact that the British government has adopted measures for rendering its conditions more stringent, and still more strongly by the practical transfer of the trade to other flags.

The two amendments proposed seem to me to fall short of the great object in view; but that object, I submit, is nevertheless attainable by the negotiation of such an additional article as I have ventured to propose.

In this view of the matter the mere existence of the court for twenty years, in the course of which discussions have arisen affecting the freedom of

entire cargoes of Africans, without producing a single practical evil, to give the captain-general or the government any substantive cause of complaint, affords a broad basis on which the demand for an enlargement of the powers of the court may be conveniently founded. Any case that could come before it under the proposed additional article, however important in principle, would not be of a nature to justify the fear of insurrection. Each particular cause brought up for adjudication would only involve the right of a single African to his freedom.

If pushed to its full extent, it is true, that by the constant repetition of the process, it would go far to depopulate the sugar estates, and deprive them of their prædial labourers. On this ground, unless limited to future importations, it would be loudly objected to by almost all classes of the inhabitants of Cuba; but if in the new article or the new treaty a day were fixed, past, present, or future, which was to become the *terminus a quo*, from whence its operation was to begin, the number of persons who could suffer in their interests would be exceedingly limited, and would also be clearly defined. But suppose it to have no retroactive effect, and that all past infractions of laws and treaties are to be overlooked; then, as the only parties who would really sustain any grievance would be those who have invested their capital in Baltimore clippers, and who would thereby be deprived of the means of turning their purchases to profitable account, no man would venture to say

that the future and contingent advantages to arise from the further prosecution of the slave trade, whether agricultural, commercial, or political, could be seriously taken into account. As well might the contingent profits of the shipbuilders of Maryland be entitled to a favourable consideration.

The great obstacle to the attainment of this object appears to be overcome by the palpable fact, that two British judges, invested with important powers, and an extensive jurisdiction, have long been established in the dominions of Spain, for the very purpose of putting down the slave trade, and at the very place where that purpose can be accomplished most effectually. When strongly pressed in the years 1834 and 1835, the Spanish government yielded with a tolerable grace to the admission of a principle, the sole object of which was to facilitate the conviction of the guilty trader. Contrary, however, to the hopes of the one, and the fears of the other contracting party, the effect of the equipment clause has not been to abolish the trade, but to transfer it to another flag. Let us return then to the charge, expose the false position which the Spanish government has taken up, and compel them to surrender at discretion.

It is true that as the court is at present constituted, with two commissary judges and two arbitrators, the drawing of lots or the dice-box would be more frequently resorted to than might be consistent with the interests of freedom and humanity. But even supposing that the Spanish commissary judge were to oppose, *à l'outrance*, the

emancipation of every unfortunate captive that came before him, the effect would be, on a fair calculation of chances, to bring about the liberation of one half of all the Africans who should henceforth be landed on the island; and this proportion would be quite sufficient, supposing our cruizers to make no increase in their exertions, to extinguish the profits of the slave-dealers, and so put an end to their trade.

It is neither the wish nor the interest of the Creoles of Cuba, as a body, at least not of the old landed proprietors, to continue the practice of the slave trade. It is the captain-general who represents the opinions of the Cabinet of Madrid; the subordinate functionaries, natives of Old Spain, who reap a rich revenue from the trade; and the actual slave-dealers who embark their capital in the undertaking; that are its real and substantial supporters.

The maintenance of the traffic is regarded by the Peninsular government as a sort of political necessity. In a country so far removed from the seat of government, they are constantly alive to the difficulty of maintaining their sovereignty —

——— "alieno in loco
Haud stabile regnum est."

They are of opinion, and in this they are perhaps not far wrong, that the continuance of the connection of Cuba with the mother-country would be seriously endangered by making the resident white population independent of what they think the wholesome dread of a servile insurrection. Conceal it as they may, this is the true and simple

key to the whole policy of the Spanish government on the subject; and it will be found, on application, to open up and illustrate many of the measures of that government with regard to this island, which have hitherto appeared so mysterious and inconsistent.

When all the arts of diplomacy have been exhausted by our minister at Madrid to obtain a royal order on the captain-general of Cuba for the performance of some act of justice which had long been withheld, and when at length that royal order has been reluctantly issued, it will probably be found that the authorities at the Havana do not scruple to evade it and leave it wholly without effect. This they would never dare to do, if they had not the secret sanction of the government.

Thus, on the 2d of November, 1838, a royal order was issued at the instance of Lord Clarendon, directing the captain-general to adopt the most efficacious means for putting an end to this illegal and contraband traffic; but it is needless to say it was never intended that it should be carried into effect. If ever transmitted at all by the Spanish minister at Madrid to his representative at the Havana, it was accompanied with secret instructions to let it remain in abeyance. It was issued, because the necessity of yielding to the importunity of the British minister was stronger for the moment than that of raising up or maintaining a permanent obstacle to the ardent desire for independence entertained by the Creole inhabitants.

As soon as a copy of the royal order reached the British commissioners, finding that it was likely to remain a dead letter in the archives of the colonial government, they addressed a written application to the captain-general, respectfully suggesting that the usual publicity should be given to it by three successive insertions in the official journal, the *Diario de la Havana.* To this application the commissioners received for answer, " that the peculiar circumstances of an island in which there is such an excessive number of slaves, suggest motives of policy and prudence for avoiding the publication of any kind of expression, capable of being misinterpreted, which might excite them to riot or mutiny, on the supposition that they were unjustly oppressed." His Excellency further stated that he had communicated the order to the governors and lieutenant-governors under his command; so that the farce of issuing orders accompanied by counter-orders to render them of none effect, is acted on the vice-regal stage at the Havana, in humble imitation of the royal performance at Madrid. Thus a new negotiation becomes necessary, and the whole machinery of diplomacy must be set in motion to bring about the publication of an advertisement in a Havana newspaper! It must be dinned into the ears of the Spanish minister, that the reason assigned by the captain-general for not publishing the order could not be received as satisfactory; since it amounted only to this, that because the order specifically applies to Cuba, it

is therefore unfitting that the people of Cuba should be made aware of its existence.

The motives of the Spanish government for forcing the slave trade on the inhabitants of Cuba, however indefensible in the face of solemn treaties, and in defiance of the laws of humanity, may almost be said to be dignified and respectable when compared with the wretched incentives which stimulate the government of Lisbon to cover and protect this atrocious traffic. No national interest can now be pleaded by Portugal for the continuance of this trade. The trans-Atlantic colonies, to which she formerly carried slaves for the purpose of cultivating the soil, have separated from the mother-country; and the African colonies, from which slaves are now carried, are impoverished and depopulated, and kept in a state of barbarism by the practice. The African seas and the Atlantic swarm with vessels bearing the flag of Portugal, and loaded deep with human victims. Such is the truthful and energetic language constantly addressed to the government of her most Faithful Majesty, a government which has received from Great Britain upwards of 6,000,000*l.* sterling as the price of an act of justice and humanity.

It is to continue the profits of the mere carrying trade and the previous profits on the business of kidnapping in the interior of Africa, that Portugal has steeped herself in all this degradation. In 1837 forty-eight, and in 1838 forty-four vessels under the flag of Portugal, entered the port of the Havana after having landed slaves in the neigh-

bourhood. The average assumed by Lord Palmerston is, that each vessel must have introduced on the average 443 slaves, which would make the number landed by Portuguese agency near the Havana, during the two years in question, amount to not less than 40,700 slaves. For reasons already stated I am disposed to believe that this average is too high, and that 300 for each cargo landed would be nearer the truth. This would reduce the amount for the two years to about 27,500.

The Portuguese trade with the Brazils is proved to be still greater than that with Cuba. Not less than ninety-three vessels under the flag of Portugal are reported to have entered the harbour of Rio de Janeiro alone in the year 1837, and as many as eighty-four in 1838, from which there were landed 78,300 slaves.

These calculations do not include the number of Portuguese slavers which resorted to other places in Cuba besides the Havana, nor to other provinces in Brazil besides Rio de Janeiro; neither does it include the number which founder at sea, nor those which were captured and condemned at Sierra Leone.

In that settlement there are four courts of mixed commission, — the British and Brazilian, the British and Netherlands, the British and Spanish, and the British and Portuguese. In the year 1838 the number of vessels which passed through those courts amounted to thirty. The Dutch and Brazilian commissioners enjoyed a sinecure; the calendar of their courts presented a maiden assize; but

although several of the thirty slavers were condemned in the Spanish court, as being liable, under a new interpretation of the *lex mercatoria*, to be treated as Spaniards and so to be subject to the conditions of the treaty, it is a remarkable fact that every one of them professed to be Portuguese, and was provided with Portuguese papers.

Seventeen were condemned in the Portuguese court, because the fact of their being full of slaves at the moment of capture was irresistible; one was also condemned although Portuguese, because it was proved that she had slaves on board during the particular voyage in the course of which she was detained; one, the Camoës, escaped condemnation in consequence of an irregularity which will be noticed in another place; and the other eleven were deprived of the shelter of the Portuguese flag and condemned in the Spanish court, on the ground that their ownership and course of trade had brought them within the reach of the Spanish treaty. Not one of the whole number was really Portuguese. Four of them were proved to be Brazilian, and the remaining twenty-six were undoubtedly Spanish.

Of the thirty slavers in question, seventeen received their Portuguese passports at the Cape de Verd islands, four at the islands of Princes and St. Thomas on the African coast, two at St. Paul de Loando, three from the Portuguese consul-general at Rio de Janeiro, three from the Portuguese consul-general at Cadiz, and one at Lisbon. Their des-

tination were, two to Bahia, two to Pernambuco, two to Porto Rico, and twenty-four to Cuba.

Of the eleven traders condemned in the Spanish court, only one, the Opposiçao, to be noticed elsewhere, had embarked any negroes previous to her capture. Her cargo consisted of people of the Congo nation, shipped in the river Zaire.

Of the nineteen prosecuted in the Portuguese court, eighteen, as I have just said, were condemned for having had slaves on board. Four of them embarked their slaves in the Gallinas, one in the Sherbro, and one in the Rio Nunez, three rivers in the immediate neighbourhood of the British settlement of Sierra Leone. Five others received their cargoes at Lagos, two in the Calabar, two in the Bonny, one in the river Benin, one in the river Nun, and one at Whydah. The Camoës, which escaped condemnation, would doubtless have received her cargo in the Benin.

Of the eleven vessels condemned in the Spanish court, one was captured near the Havana after discharging her cargo. The other ten had not yet received their slaves; and it was therefore in virtue of the equipment clause in the Clarendon treaty that they were subject to condemnation. They were all taken on the African coast; nine of them in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, six in the Gallinas already referred to, one in the Pungas, two a little lower down off the river Sestos, and one at Accra.

Some idea of the points on the coast of Cuba which most require to be watched may be gathered

from the returns of the places where the last twenty-five cargoes, reported ending in April, 1839, had been successfully landed; viz. nine at Guanimar, four near Trinidad de Cuba, three at Marièl, two at Camarioca, one at Puente de Guano, one at Cabanos, one at Banes, one at Cogimar, one at Santa Cruz, one at Canimar, and one near Santiago de Cuba. The neighbourhood of the Havana and Matanzas are the points which best suit the convenience of the dealers. The south coast is considered objectionable on account of its being more exposed; but still from this list it may be seen that it is often preferred by the slave captains, in the exercise of the discretion with which they are necessarily entrusted.

The average length of the voyage from the date of leaving the Havana till the return is rather more than seven months, the shortest on a series of six years having been four months, and the longest rather more than fifteen. At the end of four months it is considered that they may be looked for almost daily; and in the cases set down as exceeding twelve months, there may sometimes have been two voyages instead of one, the first arrival not having transpired. After seven or eight months' absence they begin to be despaired of, longer voyages being of rare occurrence. They are occasioned in general either by loss of time in changing papers, by a temporary detention and release, or by the difficulty of finding a cargo.

It has been remarked that the trade has always been most active in the months of November,

December, January, and February; at least these are the months when the arrival of slave vessels from the coast of Africa is more frequent than at other seasons of the year. This circumstance, whatever be its cause, should have some weight with the Admiralty in regulating the relative number of cruizers appointed to the service on the different stations, so as to place them at the proper season where they would be most likely to be efficient.

It was during this busy season that my visit to the island took place; and the commanders of the cruizers on the station, from the smallness of their numbers, can scarcely be blamed for the rapidity with which the barracoons were filled. They were certainly not in a situation to establish that sort of blockade of 2000 miles of coast which would be necessary to suppress a contraband traffic, where the profits are cent. per cent., and where the landing can be almost instantaneously effected. At the same time it may be remarked, that the days and weeks which are sometimes lost in the harbour of the Havana serve no useful purpose whatever; and that the time thus spent, beyond what is necessary for obtaining supplies, infers a proportional deduction from the efficiency of the cruize. The commissioners are of opinion that no less than ten cruizers would be necessary during four months of the year to maintain an effective blockade, so as to exclude the slavers from all chance of running it. One of these they think should be a steam-vessel, the habitual station of which should be near the

mouth of the harbour of the Havana, with two armed launches in communication. Cape Cruz, the entrance of the harbour of Santiago, the Isle of Pines, Trinidad de Cuba, Sagua, Cape Antonio, Cape Maize, Cumberland Harbour, and the islands of Tortuga and Inagua, are the stations which in the opinion of the commissioners are most entitled to attention. They seem to think that by a considerable accession to the amount of the force on that station, at the proper season, the trade might receive a shock, from which it would take years to recover. Such a blow, it is supposed, would now be felt more heavily, from the impression which has gone abroad that the British government has become apathetic on the subject, and that the traders are in consequence less than formerly on their guard.

It is very far from my intention to say a single word in disparagement of the great and generous efforts which have constantly been made for the suppression of the traffic by means of mere physical exertion. It may nevertheless be seriously doubted, whether all that we have done has not in fact aggravated the evil we have so vainly endeavoured to mitigate. We have no doubt raised the price of imported slaves in the Spanish and Brazilian markets; but unless our blockade was so effective as to make it unprofitable for the dealer to persevere, it seems to me that our exertions are worse than useless; exposing the poor victims to a degree of suffering which it would not have been the

interest of the slave carriers to inflict, had we left their trade undisturbed.

We are bound, therefore, to make some atonement for the misery we have ourselves created. It is evidently hopeless to undertake a serious blockade of 8000 miles of coast, and yet no less would be necessary to accomplish the object effectually: — 3000 miles of the African continent, embracing those portions only from whence slaves are obtained; and 5000 miles, in round numbers, for the shores of the Brazilian empire, and the two islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

In levying taxes it has long been notorious that whenever they exceed the proportion of thirty per cent. ad valorem, it is impossible to shut out the contraband trade, however unwieldy the commodities on which they may be imposed. If tea, brandy, or tobacco, can be run on shore, and concealed in the face of an active coast-guard and an army of custom-house officers, independent of the vigilant blockade of our revenue cruizers, how much more easy must it always be for the slave dealer to accomplish his purpose, with an extent of coast to be watched incomparably larger, with a rate of profit far higher out of which to pay his premium of insurance, with no coast-guard to oppose his landing, and with no custom-house officers to effect a subsequent seizure; but, on the contrary, with a whole population ready to assist him, public functionaries to protect him, and every possible facility for the instantaneous landing of his cargo?

On the other hand, if the principle I have now brought forward were fairly recognized and steadily acted on, it cannot be denied that the advantages of the contraband in human flesh would instantly cease. The tea, the brandy, or tobacco, as soon as it is landed, can be so mixed up with the stock of the dealer or consumer on shore as to set at defiance all attempts at identification. The case is very different with the imported African. It is notorious that a Bozal can always be distinguished from a Creole negro. Moreover the presumption of the law even of Spain is already in favour of freedom; so that the onus of proving the right of ownership already lies on the party who claims the dominion. All that is necessary is to find willing judges and a willing prosecutor. An English tribunal has been long established in each of the two countries where slave markets exist. The first great difficulty is therefore already overcome. The two governments with which we have to deal profess to be as willing and as anxious as ourselves to put an end to the traffic. With what grace then can they oppose the demand for a slight extension of the large powers they have been prevailed on to grant to tribunals in which British judges have so long been exercising jurisdiction coextensive with their own? I cannot permit myself to believe that the negotiation for the extension of the powers of the court will be met by any serious opposition on the part of the two governments with whom we have to deal. The attainment of an object for which the British people

have already made snch enormous sacrifices, and even its acceleration by a single year, would amply justify the special mission I have ventured to propose; and to make it prompt and effective, it only remains to prevail on my Lord Clarendon to accept the temporary and not ungracious duties of an ambassador extraordinary. His immense popularity throughout the dominions of her Catholic Majesty, to which I am able to bear personal testimony, would make that easy for him which, in the hands of any other minister, would probably become a subject of tedious negotiation.

CHAP. XVIII.

MR. BUXTON'S ESTIMATE OF CUBA SLAVE-TRADE. — MR. M'QUEEN'S ESTIMATE. — MR. CONSUL TOLMÉ'S ESTIMATE. — EXTENT OF THE TRADE. — THE MIDDLE PASSAGE. — MEANS OF REPRESSION. — HEAD-MONEY. — TONNAGE-MONEY. — HER MAJESTY'S PACKETS.

THE statements I have made for the purpose of establishing data from which to arrive at an estimate approaching as near as possible to accuracy, of the amount of the importation of slaves into Cuba, were written before I had an opportunity of consulting the late work of Mr. Fowell Buxton on the African slave trade. In his natural anxiety to strengthen his case, Mr. Buxton has been induced to set down the numbers for Cuba at no less than 60,000; but as he has furnished his readers with the elements on which this estimate is founded, it is impossible to impute to him any wish to exaggerate the revolting reality. I am very far from any desire to damage the strong case he has undoubtedly made out, and I sincerely trust that it will prove irresistible, in spite of the numerical deduction which the result of my inquiries will have a tendency to make from it. Mr. Buxton tells us that it is scarcely practicable to ascertain the number of slaves imported into Cuba, and that the data must be doubtful on which any calculation can be made. "Almost the only specific fact," he says, "which I can collect from the reports of the com-

missioners, is the statement that 1835 presents a number of slave vessels (arriving at the Havana), by which there must have been landed, at the very least, 15,000 negroes." Mr. Buxton then goes on to say: — "But in an official letter, dated 28th May, 1836, there is the following remarkable passage: — 'I wish I could add that this list contains even one fourth of the number of those which have entered after having landed cargoes, or sailed after having refitted in this harbour.'" From these imperfect premises, Mr. Buxton concludes that the importation must amount to at least 60,000; and he takes credit for extreme moderation in not extending it to 100,000, on the authority of Mr. M'Queen, the grounds of whose opinion are equally indefinite. In point of fact, however, the statement of Mr. Commissioner Schenley does not warrant the inference Mr. Buxton has drawn from it. The list he refers to, which he says should be multiplied by four, is not the list of 1835, from which an importation of 15,000 was inferred; but a list admitted to be imperfect, for the month of April, 1836, in which five vessels are specified as having sailed, and two only as having arrived within the month. As Mr. Schenley's letter is a short one, it may be as well to insert it in this place without curtailment.

"Havana, May 31. 1836.

"I beg leave to report to your Lordship such of the arrivals and departures of slave vessels during the last month, as it has been in my power to procure information of. I wish I could add that this list contained even one fourth of the number of

those which have entered after having landed cargoes, or sailed, after having refitted in this harbour; but as the commercial lists and public journals no longer report these vessels, it is for the present a matter of some difficulty to obtain any information whatever, both as regards the names of the vessels and of their masters, the more particularly as slave vessels have generally a plurality of names.

"On the 19th inst. sailed the brig 'Seguñda Monica,' Canil, master; on the 22d, the brigs 'Florentine,' Tomas, master, and the 'Saltador,' Botel, master; on the 26th, the ship 'Europa,' ——, master; and on the 29th, the notorious ship 'Socorro,' Paoli, master, all under Spanish colours.

"Some of these vessels cleared out for ports in Brazil, for the purpose of obtaining Portuguese papers, the prevailing idea being that they will thereby avoid the consequences of the equipment article in the new treaty with Spain.

"The two following vessels arrived in the course of the month under Portuguese colours, viz. the schooners 'Eliza,' St. Ana, master, and the 'Prueba,' Campo, master. I have, &c."

Upon the whole, therefore, I find nothing in Mr. Buxton's estimate, or in the grounds on which it proceeds, to invalidate that of Mr. Tolmé, the British consul at the Havana, who with better opportunities of judging, has not attempted to push the numbers beyond 23,000. Since the arrival of

Dr. Madden, who will not be accused of any desire to underrate the amount of this growing evil, he has stated it for a former year considerably lower than Mr. Tolmé has done for 1838; but since then the trade has undoubtedly been on the increase, with a tendency of course to reconcile the calculations of these two well-informed local functionaries. Mr. Buxton supports his estimate by stating, on the authority of Captain M'Lean, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, that as far as he could judge, there were three vessels sailed for Cuba from the coast of Africa to two for the Brazils; but this opinion, however well founded, would afford an argument quite as strong to the opponents of Mr. Buxton for diminishing his estimate of the trade to the Brazils, as for increasing that to Cuba.

I perfectly concur with Mr. Buxton as well as with Governor M'Lean and the other gentlemen on whose authority he makes the statement, that the slave trade generally has not been seriously checked by the equipment clause in the Spanish treaty, the effect of which has only been to change the flag under which the traffic is carried on. From this it does not follow, however, that the principle of the equipment clause is either barren or inoperative. It only proves that we have not yet succeeded in making the league for the suppression of the slave trade universal. The object of the treaty of 1835 resolves itself, in fact, into a mere extension of the powers of the mixed courts. A further extension, not nearly so formidable in

appearance, although calculated to produce results more immediate as well as more important, is evidently still a desideratum, the attainment of which is greatly facilitated by the admirable temper with which the former negotiations were conducted.

When Governor M'Lean gives the cholera at Cuba and an insurrection at Bahia as the causes of this increase, I fear that he overlooks a motive much more generally operative. In representing the enormous profits still made by the African traders, Mr. Buxton has been very successful in placing this all-powerful motive in a very striking point of view, so much so as to make the abolition of the trade, if his views could be relied on, a measure all but hopeless.

In order to justify his guess of the total number of victims, Mr. Buxton assumes that twenty-nine out of every thirty slavers escape the risk of capture; and as he finds on the average of the years 1836 and 1837 that 7538 negroes were captured, he multiplies that number by thirty, and thus brings out a total of 226,140. I have elsewhere shown that the slave-traders of the Havana, who are as keen and cunning in their pecuniary transactions as they are regardless of the feelings of humanity, do not hesitate to give from 35 to 40 per cent. as a premium of insurance on their African risks; and that even at these exorbitant rates the two insurance companies which were instituted expressly for the purpose of engaging in such transactions, have been reluctantly compelled to withdraw from this leading branch of their business,

and to apply themselves to more legitimate affairs. If any fair argument, therefore, could be derived from this view of the matter, it would scarcely give three as the multiplier, while 7538, the number emancipated, would remain as before the multiplicand.

The whole trade, I am convinced, is much greater than the quotient would make it; and it is capable of an easy explanation, if the statements made to me by the directors of the two insurance companies are entitled to the credit which I am persuaded they deserve. These gentlemen assured me with one accord, that in accepting these *riesgos estraordinarios*, they had often to deal with faithless and dishonourable men, who, on their return from a slaving expedition, or after an absence from the Havana equivalent to the period required, would come to the company, and under the most solemn sanction announce a loss of ship or cargo, partial or total, the payment of which the directors had no means of resisting if they meant to continue this branch of their business. On their part the insurance contract was entirely one of honour and good faith, since its performance could not be enforced by the law of the country; and I have no doubt, therefore, that it was in a great measure the disgust occasioned by these impudent frauds which induced the two insurance companies to refuse the renewal of risks which were likely soon to prove as ruinous as they were admitted to be "extraordinary."

It appears that Governor M'Lean has been at

great pains to ascertain the quantity and value of the goods manufactured in Lancashire and shipped to the Brazils, Cuba, the United States, and other places intended for the slave trade, and adapted, as he believes, for that trade exclusively. He states the value of these goods to have amounted in the year 1836 to 250,000*l.*; and he believes that slaves are paid for, one third in cowries, one third in tobacco and spirits, and one third in Manchester goods. From this he infers that the whole value of the slaves purchased in the year 1836 amounted to 750,000*l.*; and as he states the price at 4*l.* a head, he brings out the number of 187,500, which, however, is not sufficient to support the opinion of Mr. Buxton to its full extent.

In various parts of the world I have met with persons who did not scruple to confess that they had been engaged, some to a great, and some only to a small extent, in this horrid traffic. At the Havana, in order to save the expense of insurance, the business is very often managed by means of joint stock companies, the partners in which contrive to protect themselves from loss by taking shares of moderate amount in a number of separate adventures, taking care, on the principle of the proverb, not to put too many eggs into one basket. This mode of proceeding makes it obvious that the details of a slave-trading transaction must be as familiar as household words to a very great number of persons. No captain or supercargo of a slaver would dare therefore to make any serious overcharge on the price he pretended to pay for

his human merchandise. If the current price was no more than $20 a head, he would never be listened to, if on his arrival at the Havana he pretended to have paid $75 or $100. It is no doubt true that the price of men and women must rise and fall in the market like other objects of traffic, according to the relative state of the demand and supply. But in slave-trading as in other trades regular checks are established on dishonest agents; and it would be quite as difficult to make an individual slave merchant, or a joint stock company, believe that $75 or $100 had been paid for what cost only $20, as to practise a similar cheat successfully on a regular dealer in Smithfield.

In all that Mr. Buxton relates of the increased horrors of the middle passage I perfectly concur. The space allowed is less, the crowding and mortality far greater on board a Baltimore clipper, built expressly for fast sailing, than under the old system of licence and inspection, when concealment and escape were not necessary conditions to the slave-trader's profit. "I think," says Mr. Jackson, one of the judges in the court of mixed commission at Sierra Leone, — "I think the sufferings of those poor slaves are greatly aggravated by the course adopted; for the trade is now illegal, and, therefore, whatever is done, is done clandestinely; they are packed more like bales of goods on board than human beings; and the general calculation is, that if in three adventures one succeeds, the owners are well paid." This estimate is much nearer the mark than that of Mr.

Buxton, and it offers a striking confirmation of the relative value between the slave before embarkation on the coast of Africa, as understood at the Havana, and the same slave after the dealer has incurred the risk and expense of the voyage, and has landed his victim alive and in a marketable condition on the shores of the island. The price on the African coast is from $75 to $100; the price at wholesale, by the cargo, in the barracoons or market-places of the Havana, is from $300 to $320; an increase quite sufficient to justify Mr. Jackson's statement, that one successful adventure out of three remunerates the speculator.

The established rate of premium from 35 to 40 per cent., by which on a long course of transactions the rival insurance companies at the Havana could realize no profits, although in the end they sustained no serious loss, proves also that nearly two out of every three adventures are successful; and since one out of three would at least have covered all loss, the difference on the most moderate calculation makes a profit of at least cent. per cent. on the amount of the capital embarked. Until that rate of profit is reduced or extinguished, it is in vain to expect that the trade will be effectually suppressed. Increase the number of cruizers on the coast of Africa; confine their attention to that coast alone, the extent of which is already far less than that of the Spanish islands and the Brazils now watched so inefficiently; give the commanders, by means of head-money and tonnage-money, in reasonable proportions, a direct

pecuniary interest in the capture and condemnation of slavers, without, as well as with their cargoes on board; and I see no reason to despair of the slave-dealers' profit being annihilated. Not only must the commanders of cruizers be stimulated by the prospect of profit, but they must be protected from the risk of ruin to which they are now exposed by the unfavourable issue of an action of damages at the suit of the slave-dealer; who, having escaped condemnation under favour of the lottery which has been gravely established in the courts of mixed commission, thinks fit to pursue the unfortunate captor to gratify his vindictive feelings; to put money in his pocket; or perhaps, on a broader principle, to damp the zeal of our commanders in the discharge of their duty. It must not be forgotten, however, that by engaging in the work of suppression we become morally bound to do it effectually; as in going to war with insufficient means, our interference only serves to increase its horrors and procrastinate its issue. The plan of suppression I have attempted to sketch in the course of this work is perfectly compatible with the employment of the naval force engaged in this service at the largest amount to which it has yet been carried. Its object is to make the captured slaves unmarketable in the only two countries where they are offered for sale; and I think I have demonstrated that the courts of mixed commission already in existence only require a small extension of their powers to make them quite sufficient for this purpose.

I do not mean to say that the highest price which slaves have hitherto brought at the Havana is the maximum which the planters of that island can afford to pay. When the supply comes to be diminished, the prices offered will of course be proportionally increased, until they reach the limit which the planters' profits would justify. In the mean time it is no small satisfaction to reflect, that in proportion to the high price which the planter shall have been compelled to pay for the negro, will be the care which it will be his interest to take of his purchase. He will no longer be able to afford to work his gang to death in ten years; he must be content with a diminished amount of labour; and this, in its turn, will serve to hasten the period when imported Africans can no longer be purchased with advantage.

The mortality among the slaves on the sugar plantations in the island of Cuba, enormous as it is, appears, after all, to be only half as great as that which prevails in Egypt, unless my friend Dr. Bowring has been led into error in the statement he has made to Mr. Buxton, as quoted by him in his late work on the African slave trade. "I have heard it estimated," Dr. Bowring observes, "that five or six years are sufficient to sweep away a generation of them, at the end of which time the whole has to be replenished. This is one of the causes of their low market value. When they marry, their descendants seldom live; in fact, the laws of nature seem to repel the establishment of hereditary slavery." This last is a very beautiful idea; but I do not see

that it can be supported by facts. The negro population of the British West Indies not only maintained itself at the full amount at which it was left on the abolition of the slave trade, but since that period its numbers have materially increased, and there is nothing in the appearance of their descendants to support Dr. Bowring's opinion. The remarkable increase of the numbers of the negro race, retained in slavery in the southern states of the North American Union, is unhappily still more conclusive against the truth of the theory, that the laws of nature repel the establishment of hereditary bondage. To believe in this doctrine would be to relax our efforts in the cause, which bids us exclaim, in language applied to a different species of dominion, "*Obruat istud male partum, male retentum, male gestum imperium!*" And it is for this reason alone that I venture to point out the fallacy which it seems to me to contain.

Whatever noble lords and honourable gentlemen in the two Houses of Parliament may say to the contrary, it will be found that naval officers are not exempt from those ordinary considerations which govern the bulk of mankind. I know that head-money and tonnage-money are objected to by the leading economists in the House, on the general principle that the servants of the public should never be paid by fees for the performance of their duty. It seems to me to be a great stretch of this principle to apply it to a case so totally unlike anything that can possibly occur in our public offices at home. But suppose it, for a

moment, too sacred to be touched, and too rigorous to be departed from, it can scarcely be made to extend so far as not only to deprive the unfortunate captor of a slave-ship of the prize money he has earned, but, holding him bound to make the seizure, to subject him at the same time to the perils of the commissioners' dice-box; it being well known that if the Spanish arbitrator wins the throw, the prize will be liberated, and the captor, as a matter of course, and in spite of his undeniable *bonâ fides*, be liable to prosecution for a ruinous sum of damages.

On what principle do these gentlemen contend, that the capture of a slaver should follow a different rule from that of a prize, the fruit of an engagement with an enemy in time of war? Are they prepared to abolish the system of prize-money? And would they send the whole produce of the captures made in battle to the Exchequer? Are they quite sure that the zeal of men and officers will not be affected by it? And would it be any serious imputation on their character or courage if they were less zealous? The resemblance is surely stronger between the prize-money won in war, and the prize money won on the coast of Africa, than between this same head-money or tonnage-money, or whatever other name the slaver's prize-money is to bear, and the fees exacted for the performance of some specific duty on shore.

The officer paid by fees for the performance of such duties, whether civil, judicial, or ecclesiastical, has no pretext for leaving them undone, no excuse

for performing them imperfectly. In the case of the commander of a cruizer engaged in the suppression of the slave trade, the duties and responsibilities of his situation are as different as possible. One duty or set of duties may often in his mind come into competition with another. The preservation of the health of his crew may suggest to him that the swampy mouth of some river where slavers are accustomed to receive their cargoes, ought to be carefully avoided; whereas, if honours, promotion, or prize-money, were held out as a reward for affronting the danger, he would often cease to hesitate, and without perhaps reflecting on his own motives very deeply, his course of conduct would insensibly be altered by the absence of all apprehension on the score of damages, suppression of all danger from the lawyers, and by the prospect of a reasonable reward for himself and his crew.

This view of the matter is supported by a practice which is perfectly understood in another branch of the service. Her Majesty's packets, at least such of them as have been built within these last few years, are universally acknowledged to possess sailing qualities of the highest order. In fact, I have heard from the most undeniable naval authority, from French admirals and American commodores, that they have nothing in either of these two rival services to surpass the new government packets on the West India and South American stations. In making their homeward voyage, these fine vessels support the high character they enjoy, by accomplishing the passage in a shorter time than any

other vessel; whereas it is the subject of universal remark among the merchants and others interested in their prompt arrival on the other side of the Atlantic, that they are regularly behind their time on the outward passages, the average of which, since the establishment of these new and fast-sailing packets, is asserted to be considerably beyond that of ordinary West India and South American traders, not by any means remarkable for their speed, or for the superior seamanship of their navigators.

These facts are thus explained by the parties who complain of being disappointed in the receipt of intelligence from Europe. They assert that the commanders of the packets have a pecuniary interest in procrastinating their outward passage, as the profits of their voyage depend, in a great degree, on the amount of the freight they are to receive for bringing home specie. If one packet were to arrive at any given point in America, from whence bullion is usually exported, immediately or too soon after the sailing of the previous packet, the chance of freight would be diminished, in the direct ratio of the shortness of the interval.

I have not sufficient data before me on which to form an opinion of the justice or injustice of this serious charge; but I hold myself responsible for the fact, that complaints to this effect are openly and loudly made by parties deeply interested in the trade with England, and in the prompt arrival of intelligence from this country. It would be much more agreeable to find that the charge is totally

groundless; and in that case the officers in command of the packets will doubless rejoice at the opportunity afforded them of contradicting it. The dates of the sailing and the arrival of every packet are of course a matter of record; and it would probably be easy for the registrar at Lloyd's, or some such functionary, to prepare a comparative statement of the relative rates of sailing of her Majesty's packets and of other vessels trading to those ports in North and South America where bullion is usually shipped, and where the packets are accustomed to call. If it shall appear that the average rate of sailing of the packets is below the average of trading vessels on the homeward as well as on the outward passage, then the commanders must be acquitted of the charge of wilful delay; and the blame must be thrown on the builders of the packets, in spite of the high character they have acquired. If, on the contrary, it should be found that the packets, as compared with the trading vessels, have a decided advantage in point of sailing in the homeward passage, but that they are as regularly beaten in the passage outward, it seems to me that a case will be laid for a serious investigation into the cause of so remarkable a discrepancy.

And here it may not be out of place to remark, that as the affairs of her Majesty's packets are at present conducted, the commander is placed in a situation to which no naval officer, and, indeed, no English gentleman, should ever be exposed. It is well known that, next to the article of freight for

carrying bullion and cochineal, the greater part of his remuneration for the performance of important duties in which the whole world is deeply interested, consists in a certain proportion of the money received from the passengers. It is at the expense of the commander that the passengers' table is furnished; so that his profits necessarily bear a direct proportion to the meanness of the fare. On several of the stations the packets enjoy a practical monopoly of this trade of carrying passengers; and as they sail on a given day, and, on the homeward voyage at least, make better passages than ordinary merchantmen, they would often be preferred, notwithstanding the fact, which is said to have become notorious in the case of several of these commanders, and which, true or false, is very generally spoken of, that the passengers' table is most imperfectly supplied.

An officer of the British navy ought not to be exposed to such an imputation, much less to the disagreeable scenes of altercation which are constantly occurring in consequence of the unfavourable comparisons which are made between the table supplied in the post office packets, and that which is furnished in the ordinary packet ships, where no such monopoly exists. The remedy is easy: the contract for the supply of the table should be made with the steward; and the commander would at once be relieved from the suspicion of putting money in his pocket by starving his passengers; while, at the same time, his presence would be a constant check on the proceedings of the steward-

contractor. This point is not so important as the alleged detention of the packets on the outward passage in order to increase the chance of profit arising from freight, but it is nevertheless entitled to more consideration that it has hitherto obtained. It is moreover a case which, like that of the freight, falls decidedly within the rule, that the servants of the public should not be paid by perquisites or fees.

Great complaints are made of the internal arrangements of these packets, the distribution of the berths and cabins, and the consequent impossibility of producing the degree of ventilation indispensable to health and comfort, after they have entered the tropics. The passengers' cabins are bad enough; but those allotted to the officers of the ship are, in warm weather, absolutely intolerable.

CHAP. XIX.

THE EQUIPMENT CLAUSE. — MODE OF SUPPRESSING THE TRADE. — EVASION OF EQUIPMENT CLAUSE. — SPANISH TREATY OF 1835. — CASE OF THE VENCEDORA. — OPINIONS OF MR. BUXTON. — CASE OF THE VIGILANTE.

UNDOUBTEDLY the Clarendon treaty has been greatly undervalued. It is true that the slave trade has not been put down by it. The equipment clause has wrought no miracles. It has not extirpated the love of gold from the breast of the Spanish slave-dealer; still less has it implanted a single humane feeling in its stead. But had the zeal of our ministers at other courts been attended with equal success, and had the rest of the world acquiesced in the principles of that convention, the chances of escape from the vigilance of our cruisers would already have been brought so low, that, being no longer profitable, the trade must have been abandoned.

For several years after the treaty had come into operation, a portion of the Spanish slavers continued to sail under the national flag; because, independent of the fees demanded by the Portuguese government, or the Portuguese colonial authorities, for effecting the change of registry which had become indispensable, the necessity which arose for the slavers proceeding in the first instance to the

Cape de Verd Islands, the river Cacheo, Portuguese St. Thomas, Princes, Angola, or Lisbon, added seriously to the length of the voyage, and of course to the risk and expense attending it. The expense of obtaining these fictitious papers is not by any means so small as Mr. Buxton has been brought to believe. The Portuguese functionaries are far from being the disinterested and self-denying supporters of the traffic he supposes them to be. In place of charging a moderate fee for signing the papers, they have been in the habit of exacting a commission of no less than 15 per cent. on the value of the ship and cargo, — a sum which frequently amounts to several thousand dollars. I am compelled, therefore, on this point to differ with Mr. Buxton, and to express it as my firm opinion, that it is by pushing the risk and expense of the slaver so far as to annihilate the profits of the enterprize, and by that process alone, that the trade can ever be suppressed.

By slow degrees the Spanish traders have been compelled to resort to the Portuguese for assistance, until at length, in 1839, the Spanish flag is all but abandoned. The measure tardily adopted by the British Parliament at the close of the last session, deprives the Portuguese authorities of the power to which they clung, of reaping a disgraceful profit from the sale of fabricated registries and the protection they afforded. Extend this principle a little farther; obtain the consent of all the world to the conditions of the equipment clause, the recognition of a mutual right of search, and a declar-

ation that the trade is piracy; and no profits, however exorbitant, will suffice to command the services of agents and supercargoes, masters, officers, and seamen, when they see the gibbet staring them in the face as the fit reward of their crimes.

If the government of the United States, or any other naval power, refuse its consent, then deal with that power as you have just dealt with Portugal. After browbeating, as you have done, this feeble ally, you will be but too justly accused of equal truculence and truckling, — the one as arrant as the other is base, — if you stop short there, speaking one language to the weak, and another to the strong. The people of the United States will never suffer their government to go to war for the purpose of countenancing a trade confessedly injurious to the "peculiar institutions of the south;" but if they did, they would deprive themselves of that moral force which, happily for the peace of the world, neither people nor government can conveniently dispense with at this advanced period of the nineteenth century.

It might be urged with more truth, as an objection to the Spanish treaty of 1835, that the equipment clause is liable to evasion. I am not aware that this liability has been pointed out by any of those who call the principle in question. It is nevertheless true, that such is the salutary dread which the slave traders entertain of the recognition of mere equipment as a ground of condemnation, that in order to avoid the risk of capture

on the outward voyage, they have been compelled to resort to all sorts of expedients for the sake of avoiding the too stringent conditions of the treaty.

When the fast-sailing clippers, built expressly for this trade, are despatched in ballast to the coast of Africa, they are no longer provided with the water tanks or the cooking coppers, the slave deck or the fetters, which become necessary on their homeward voyage. The fetters and the cooking vessels it is not easy to make or procure on the coast of Africa; but as there is a legitimate trade to the same places where the slaves are procured, it has been found convenient for the slave-dealers to engage, to a certain extent, in that trade also, for the mere purpose of enabling them, under the cover and protection it affords, to send out those articles of smaller bulk which are indispensable to their illicit speculations. Mixed up with a bulky cargo of lawful merchandise, or concealed at the bottom of the hold, it would not be easy for a cruizer overhauling such a vessel at sea to detect such contraband articles without specific information of their existence on board; and even when found, it might not be safe to make the seizure under the treaty of 1835 on the ground of equipment, since in the case supposed the vessel in question was a mere auxiliary to the trade, and was not destined to be directly concerned in the carrying of slaves.

The slave deck consists merely of a set of planks fitted into the bulk-heads or internal partitions of the vessel, so as to afford a wider and more convenient space on which the living cargo can be stowed.

The lumber necessary for the construction of this deck, or for any number of decks, is sent out on freight in other vessels engaged in lawful traffic. It is not cut into lengths until its arrival there, because any ordinary ship's carpenter can perform this operation on a very short notice; but even if it were previously cut into such lengths as could at once be used for the purposes of a slave deck for any particular ship, the trader, by courtesy called legitimate, who has no scruples of conscience on the subject, whatever his suspicions may be, would scarcely refuse to carry them to their destination; since, not fitting his own vessel, the fact of their being found on board could expose him to no sort of danger.

The tanks or water casks are also a bulky article; but as to them, it has in like manner been found that the ship's carpenter, with the assistance to be found at the slave factories on the coast, can manufacture them on the spot, sufficiently water-tight, with the supposed supply of lumber selected and sent out for the purpose.

It is not to be denied, however, that although the equipment clause may thus be evaded, the services it renders to the cause of humanity are great and important. It has already been shown that by reducing the profits of the slave-dealer, so as to bring them within the limits of lawful trade, and by that process alone, we can hope to succeed in accomplishing its suppression. The circuitous and expensive means to which the slave-dealers have been compelled to resort, afford a satisfac-

tory proof of its efficiency, since *pro tanto* they diminish the enormous profits which unfortunately still attend their criminal speculations. We have seen that the insurance offices of the Havana, although tempted with premiums of 35 and 40 per cent., and not pretending to the virtue of moral restraint, have found it expedient to abandon this important branch of their business. Proceed then in the same course; overwhelm the slave-dealer with charges; curtail him of his profits; and he will no longer desire, any more than the two insurance companies, to prosecute his nefarious undertakings.

Too eager to write down the Spanish treaty of 1835, Mr. Buxton lays to its charge the escape from condemnation of the Spanish schooner "*Vencedora.*" This case is undoubtedly a very bad one, reflecting the greatest discredit on the Spanish government at Madrid, on the Spanish authorities at the Havana, and on the Spanish Commander of the "*Vencedora,*" Don Antonio Lloret. From the statement of Lord Clarendon, the author of the treaty, to the Conde de Ofalia, the Spanish minister for foreign affairs, it will be seen that this was not a case of equipment at all, but related to a vessel which had slaves actually on board at the time of her capture.

"Madrid January 25th, 1838.

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that information has been received by my government that the Spanish vessel Vencedora, lately captured for having slaves concealed on board, and

carried into the Havana, brought these very slaves into the Port of Cadiz, where she remained several days having twenty-six of these wretched creatures hidden in her hold.

"This vessel sailed from Cadiz in the beginning of last September, and her passengers, from the horrid stench that came up from below, and from the extraordinary quantity of rice cooked, were well aware of the atrocious act of inhumanity which was taking place; but during the whole voyage, not one of these unhappy creatures was permitted to see the light or breathe the fresh air.

"The Vencedora had procured these slaves in the river Congo, brought them round by Cadiz, kept them in the closest confinement during the time that the vessel remained at that port, and subsequently conveyed them to the Havana in the horrible manner I have had the honour to lay before your Excellency."

The whole case is very simply stated in the two first paragraphs of the letter of Messrs. Kennedy and Schenley, then the British Commissioners to Lord Palmerston, dated the 22d November, 1837: —

"We beg to refer to our despatch of the 28th October, in which we informed your Lordship of the Spanish schooner Vencedora, having been detained in about latitude 23° 23′ N., longitude 80° 58′ W., by Commander Nixon of her Majesty's sloop Ringdove on the 14th October last; and brought into this port on the day following, having on board twenty-six Bozal negroes. We also in-

formed your Lordship that the mixed court of justice having met on the 29th October and two following days, to receive the evidence, the two judges had a conference on the 23d and 24th of the same month, and not being able to agree upon the sentence to be pronounced, *they drew lots*, as directed by the treaty, when the lot fell on the Spanish arbitrator, leaving the case thus far undecided at the close of the despatch.

"We have now the honour to inform your Lordship, that the proceedings and the separate opinions of the two judges, having been previously laid before his Excellency, Don Juan de Montalvo, the Spanish arbitrator, a conference was held on the 11th November instant, when his Excellency gave his decision in accordance with the opinion of the Spanish judge, by which the detention was pronounced to have been illegal, and declaring that the vessel and crew should be liberated, the slaves given up to their owners, and costs awarded according to the provisions of the treaty."

The treaty here referred to was not that of 1835, negotiated by Lord Clarendon, but the previous treaty of 1817, under which the court of mixed commission was originally constituted. The fact that the Vencedora was detained by Captain Nixon, not because she had a slave deck or fetters, or water butts, or cooking vessels on board, of a size unnecessary for the crew, but because she was found to have a number of negroes on board, might have convinced Mr. Buxton that the treaty of 1835 had nothing to do either with her original capture or

her subsequent liberation, and yet he opens his report of the case with the following exordium: —

"The Spanish treaty has been for some time a topic of continual congratulation and complacency; and there are many who think that if we could but induce Portugal and other countries to follow the example of Spain, there would be an end of the slave trade. A case occurs in the papers presented to parliament in 1838, which throws a strong light on the real efficacy of the Spanish treaty; and though I can give but a scanty outline of it here, it deserves particular attention. The Vencedora, a Spanish vessel, &c." Having fallen into this mistake, Mr. Buxton adheres to it to the last.: — "On fait souvent tort à la vérité, par la manière dont on se sert pour la défendre." Towards the close of his report, he thus continues: —

"However, *thanks to the Spanish treaty*, the ship is captured at last, and the Spanish authorities will be of course as eager as ourselves to punish the villain who has thus defied her decrees."

In this case of the Vencedora, it is not a little extraordinary, that the fact of her having previously made a voyage to the coast of Africa was totally unknown to Captain Nixon or his officers, and of course to the English judge, Mr. Kennedy, until after the sentence of liberation had been pronounced. The poor slaves could not speak a word of Spanish, at least all they possessed among them was the single word "Señor," which one of them uttered on his name being called, so that although the prize was for some time in possession of two

English officers and an English crew, yet as none of them understood the Congo dialect, the discovery that the poor wretches had been carried under hatches, first from Congo to Cadiz, then from Cadiz to Porto Rico, and finally from Porto Rico to the Havana, was not made until after the sentence of the mixed commission had taken effect. Without being aware of this fact, the British judge, Mr. Kennedy, in writing to his Spanish colleague, the Conde de Fernandina, very shrewdly declared that "he considered and believed it to be all one transaction, the bringing the slaves from Africa to Porto Rico, and from Porto Rico to the Havana!" When the truth at length came out, which seems to have been on the very same day, Mr. Kennedy contended strongly for another *cast of the dice* in terms of the treaty; well knowing that with two Spaniards against one Englishman, he would have no chance of a reversal of the previous sentence of liberation. The Conde admitted without any difficulty that the previous judgment did not create such a *res judicata* as to foreclose the court from the revisal of its sentence; but he stoutly persisted that the decision of the dice-box was as final and irreversible as the laws of the Medes, and that if opened up at all, he could only sit with his Spanish colleague Don Juan de Montalvo as the umpire. Under such circumstances, Mr. Kennedy was no doubt right in submitting with the best grace he could to the necessity of his situation; but when the similar case of the Vigilante soon afterwards occurred, I am surprised that he should have thought it necessary to treat that of the Vencedora

as a precedent. A fresh cast might have given him an English judge, Mr. Schenley or Mr. Dalrymple for an umpire, when, in place of the ship, her unfortunate cargo would have been liberated. In both cases, the slaves were treated as passengers *in transitu* from one point of the Spanish possessions to another; but from Lord Palmerston's letter of the 6th October, 1838, it appears to be held that this power of transit recognised by the treaty of 1817, was virtually annulled by that of 1835, so that the Vencedora and Vigilante would both have been condemned, had this interpretation of the treaty been recognised by the court.

The remedial measures proposed by Mr. Buxton in his second and more recent work on the African slave trade are much better reasoned than his previous estimate of the amount of the evil he undertakes to cure. Undoubtedly no effort should be spared to raise the moral and intellectual standard of the people of Africa, at the same time that we strive to abolish the traffic of which the mass are the passive objects, but in which not a few of them participate as guilty actors. We cannot too soon begin that course of education recommended by the traveller Burckhardt, who proposed the formation of a sort of normal school, in which native Africans should be taught to educate their countrymen in the virtues of Christianity and the arts of civilisation.

There can be no reason for waiting till the slave trade is put down before this course of education is attempted. At the best it is to be feared that a

whole generation must pass away before any great or sensible result can be expected from it. The practice of manstealing is so deeply rooted in the habits of millions and tens of millions of people, that we cannot expect it to be so promptly eradicated as, in the freshness of his enthusiasm, Mr. Buxton appears to suppose.

The model farms recommended may also be of service. But what are the products to be raised on these farms? Is it an increased supply of food for the consumption of the inhabitants; or sugar, coffee, cotton, or tobacco, with which to purchase those foreign luxuries to which they have been accustomed? This last is an intelligible and, I would fain hope, a practicable improvement. But surely we are not to postpone the suppression of the trade until a whole continent of savages have settled down to sober habits of laborious industry. By all means revive the African Institution — by all means establish an African agricultural association; but do not imagine that the modern Polyphemus can be crushed by efforts so feeble and inadequate.

Can we reasonably expect that any addition which the British government may be disposed to make to the naval force on the African station can ever be great enough to operate as an effective blockade of a whole continent? Not so long certainly as those who engage in the contraband have the prospect of cent. per cent. profit on their criminal speculations, together with every facility of insuring a somewhat smaller return, if they are

only willing to pay the premium. It must not be forgotten that the Spanish and Brazilian planters can probably afford as much as $800 or $1000 for their slaves; since even larger prices are obtained in the market of New Orleans. It is only by the effect of competition that the average is kept down to $300 or $320 in the barracoons at the Havana.

It is to be lamented that the negociation with Spain in 1827 for the entire cession of the island of Fernando Po, in property and sovereignty, was not attended with success. From its admirable position near the mouths of the Niger and the notorious Bights of Benin and Biafra, it was of all other places the best suited, on the whole coast of Africa, to become the head-quarters of the force for the suppression of the slave trade, the chief seat of the courts of mixed commission, and the dépôt for the liberated Africans. The confluence of the Tchadda with the Quorra is also a favourable point for a European settlement in the interior. In fact, the whole of Mr. Buxton's remedial suggestions appear to me to deserve the consideration and adoption of the British government and the British people, to whom they are respectively addressed.

Both branches of Mr. Buxton's "Remedy" are nevertheless exposed to very serious deductions. The cure of a leprosy with which a whole continent has been tainted, for a period beyond the reach of history or tradition, is a process far too slow to meet the demands of outraged humanity. The increase

of the naval force, the use of armed steamers, the employment of black seamen, and the establishment of twenty such posts as that proposed at Fernando Po, are only so many topical applications for the cure of a deep-rooted constitutional disease.

I have not been able to concur with Mr. Buxton either as to the number of the victims to the slave trade or the price paid for the slaves on the coast. We are, nevertheless, pretty nearly agreed as to the amount of the capital involved in the traffic, and the consequent temptation which the princes and other slave dealers on the coast or in the interior of Africa would have to overcome in renouncing it. Mr. Buxton assumes that the number of the victims amounts to an annual average of at least 250,000, and that the average price is not more than 4*l.* a head; which would make the total gain amount to a million sterling, without including the first cost of those who perish at sea. According to my view of the matter, there are two erorrs in this estimate, which pretty nearly compensate each other; the unit price being as much too low, as the gross numbers are exaggerated.

It will thus be much more difficult than Mr. Buxton supposes to induce the native Africans to create the means of procuring the foreign luxuries they desire, by turning their attention to honest industry, instead of entrapping their fellow creatures and selling them to the white ruffians who approach their shores. The compensatory difference is fully three to one. According to my estimate, a negro on the coast would very nearly purchase a pipe of

rum, whereas, according to Mr. Buxton, the value of three men would scarcely be equal to that of the like quantity of spirit. In proportion to the comparative facility of stealing over labour, will be the difficulty of introducing the substitute. I have elsewhere shown that the agents of the Pernambuco Slave Company paid as much as 100 bars a head for the slaves they obtained at Benin and Gotto; and as, in this depreciated money of account, the bar or dollar was reduced to the par of 3*s.* 1½*d*, the price of the slave in sterling money is proved to have been 15*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

The proposals of Mr. Buxton are no doubt all excellent in their way; but where they point to a radical cure they are slow; where they suggest improved means of repression they will be found inefficient in their operation. But if you could make the ultimate proprietor of the imported slave insecure in his right to his illicit acquisition, not only could he no longer afford to pay a high price for the contraband article, but he would be compelled to treat the slaves he already possesses more humanely. The existing laws of Spain, and probably those also of Brazil, are sufficient for the purpose. It is only necessary to confer the necessary power on the courts of mixed commission, to insure their rigorous and faithful administration. The whole groundwork of the trade would thus be cut away; the demand would instantly cease; and with the cessation of demand in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, the corresponding supply, and the fruitful source of crime for procuring it, first

on the coast, and afterwards in the interior of Africa, would successively and promptly be dried up and abated.

It is not easy to conceive any plausible objection that could be urged by the Spanish or Brazilian government to this extension of the power of the court of mixed commission. There is happily no difficulty in distinguishing a Bozal negro from a Creole. The presumption of law is moreover in favour of freedom; and, in default of conclusive evidence to the contrary, amounts to what civilians call the *presumptio juris et de jure*. The onus of proving legitimate dominion must therefore be thrown on the party claiming it; and in this way the proposed protectors of the freedom of the African race at the *Havana* and *Rio de Janeiro* would scarcely ever be exposed to the risk of a nonsuit.

It is not to be believed that the Spanish and Brazilian judges would systematically oppose the execution of the law, or refuse to exercise the new powers with which it is proposed to invest the courts in which they sit. Every African introduced into Cuba or Porto Rico since 1807, or into Brazil since 1826, is at this moment legally entitled to his freedom. It only remains to give the mixed courts already established a slight extension of their powers, and to provide a public vindicator of the rights of the slave and of the laws of the country in which he is held captive.

On grounds of public policy it might possibly be urged that such a vast number of untutored

savages could not safely be let loose on society. But any argument of this nature could not of course apply to the Africans to be introduced hereafter, the receiving ships being there to obviate the difficulty; nor even, with any grace, to those imported since 1835; since, whenever the arrival of a slaver is denounced by the British authorities, a pretended investigation takes place, which uniformly ends in the official denegation that any slaves whatever have been landed from the incriminated vessel.

In the mean time let us accept the limitation of the increase to the power of these mixed tribunals, from the date of the ratification of the additional articles, without insisting on giving them any retroactive effect. The very first decision of the court I venture to say will operate like a charm. The whole machinery of the trade will be instantly disorganised; the newly imported Bozal will no longer command a price in the market: the mark of contraband is stamped on his person, and cannot be effaced. A man is not imported like a barrel of flour for immediate consumption. Once landed, the smuggled flour cannot well be distinguished from that which has paid the custom-house duties. On the contraband Bozal, the marks of identity remain as long as he lives.

The fate of the slave trade will be decided irretrievably by the first decree of emancipation pronounced by the court. Convince the trader that his goods are no longer marketable, and you may rest assured that he will not invest his capital in

the unprofitable enterprise. The clipper builders of Baltimore will have no more orders; their ruffian crews will be compelled to content themselves with the moderate wages of lawful commerce; and the cold-blooded counting-house murderers of Rio and the Havana, cut off from the exorbitant profits of man-selling, must seek some new investment for their ill-got gains.

CHAP. XX.

EFFECTS OF HEAD-MONEY. — CAPTURE OF THE VELOZ. — BRAZILIAN SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS. — AFRICAN SLAVE FACTORIES. — QUESTION OF NATIONALITY. — A SLAVER'S NATIONALITY. — INSTRUCTIONS TO A SLAVE-CAPTAIN. — DIRECTIONS TO THE AGENT ON THE COAST. — SLAVES SENT ON FREIGHT. — INTERCEPTED LETTERS. — ADMIRALTY LICENCES. — NUMBER OF LICENCES. — THE STEAMER AND THE FLAG-SHIP. — DOES LANDING IN A BRITISH COLONY CONFER FREEDOM?

THOSE gentlemen in blue who take fire at the slightest hint of the shadow of a suspicion that an officer in the British navy could ever be prompted to the exercise of his duty by any motive but the pure and disinterested love of glory, without the slightest regard to his own private interests, would do well to give an attentive perusal to the case of the "Pepita," Pablo Oliver master, of which reports will be found in the printed correspondence of the British commissioners at Sierra Leone for 1836, and the more recent case of the "Camoës," Antonio Gomez da Silva master, reported in the same correspondence for 1838-9. But it is really absurd to suppose that so numerous a class of persons can either be destitute of the virtues or free from the failings of humanity. The two cases in question are so much alike that a short notice of one of them will suffice.

Her Majesty's schooner "Fair Rosamond," while cruizing off the mouth of the river Benin, discovered that two vessels strongly suspected of slave-trading were lying close to each other at anchor within the bar. The name of the one was the Veloz, the other the Camoës. The commander of the Fair Rosamond sent in his boats to board the two vessels, examine their papers, and ascertain by a search, if necessary, whether they were liable to capture. This duty having been performed, it was found that there were a number of slaves on board the Veloz, but that the Camoës had not begun to receive her cargo; and as her papers, proving her to be a Portuguese, did not bring her within the equipment conditions of the Spanish treaty, no hope could be entertained of procuring judgment of condemnation against her. To accomplish this object an ingenious contrivance was resorted to. The people of the Veloz resisted the right of search. The Fair Rosamond entered the river to enforce it, and after firing at the Veloz took possession of both vessels; an officer and prize crew were put in possession of the Camoës, but left it after having been thirty-six hours on board.

On the day following the first detention of the Camoës, the Fair Rosamond weighed her anchor, and took up a berth inside the bar of the river, which the prevalence of neap tides prevented her from crossing; and she remained there until after the second detention of the Camoës, in a position from which every thing that passed on board that

vessel could be clearly seen from her decks. In the mean time the captain and consignee of the Camoës, who happened to be on board at the time of the capture, were detained close prisoners on board the Fair Rosamond, the officers of which paid daily visits to the prize. The consignee, whose name was Cezar, appears from the evidence to have been compelled, while a prisoner in irons, to write a letter to the chief of a neighbouring tribe, directing him, or rather her, to cause the slaves on board the Veloz to be removed into the Camoës. In consequence of that letter, the removal took place, in presence of the officers and a boat's crew of Her Majesty's cruizer, for the express purpose, as admitted by the prize-master, of sanctioning the seizure. At the time of the capture, the sails of the prize were unbent, and she was not prepared for sea; nor could she then have passed the bar from the state of the tides, even if the Fair Rosamond had not been lying at anchor close within it. The officer sent as prize master to claim the condemnation, was the person least acquainted with the circumstances attending the capture; and in the course of his examinations before the Court, he discovered the greatest reluctance to communicate what he did know. The Camoës having thus been seized for having 138 negroes on board, the captor supplied the vessel with a quantity of yams and farinha, or cassava flour, for the sustenance of the negroes during the voyage to Sierra Leone; but such was the bad quality of the food, that, although the space on board for stowing the human

cargo was much greater than usual, a most extraordinary mortality took place. Of the 138 negroes taken on board in the Benin on the 28th of September, scarcely one half were alive on the 22d of January; 22 having died before the arrival of the vessel at Sierra Leone on the 10th of November, and 45 more after being landed in the British colony, and before the issue of the trial.

In this case it is not easy to say that the object of the captor was to secure the emancipation of the negroes,—since they would have been much more sure of their freedom, had they been sent on in the Veloz, out of which they were taken. In point of fact, no decree of emancipation could be pronounced in their favour, in consequence of the irregularity of the capture; still less could they be given up to the owner of the Camoës, who, besides, for his own sake, disclaimed all right to them. They were in consequence handed over to the Colonial Government, to be employed as free labourers or servants. The prize was restored to the master; and the commander of the Fair Rosamond was condemned to pay all damages, demurrage, and expenses, amounting, when taxed, to 1734*l.* 14*s.* The commander, for this excess of zeal, was also visited with a reprimand from the Admiralty.

Undoubtedly, it is much to be regretted that a vessel in the situation of the Camoës should have escaped condemnation, from the mere want of technical evidence. It would have been a much more

serious cause of regret, had her condemnation been procured at so heavy an expense as a well-founded imputation on the motives of her captors. Her consort, the Veloz, was not so fortunate, having been duly condemned as good and lawful prize to the crowns of Portugal and Great Britain. It was the Veloz that the Fair Rosamond first met with off the mouth of the river Benin, just after putting to sea with her cargo. She was chased back into the river, where she succeeded in landing the slaves, resisted a search, and, without hoisting any colours, fired into the Fair Rosamond's boat, and killed one of her seamen. It was at first proposed to endeavour to establish a case of piracy; but after six months' delay, that idea was abandoned, and the usual proceedings were taken in the Court of Mixed Commission, which ended, as has been stated, in a sentence of condemnation.

From the report of this last case, it appears that there are joint-stock companies and associations in the Brazils, formed on precisely the same principles with those which have been elsewhere noticed as existing in the island of Cuba. The Camoës and the Veloz both belonged to one of these companies, the head-quarters of which were at Pernambuco; and as they were the first ships the company had sent out, having only been organised on the 14th of December, 1836, it is to be hoped that the total loss of the Veloz, and of that part of her cargo transferred to the Camoës, together with the inadequacy of the damages awarded against the captor, will be sufficient to derange their plans,

exhaust their resources, and lead to the abandonment of their enterprise.

From the papers found on board the Veloz, it appears that the company was composed of twenty members, each subscribing 4,000,000 reis; so that the social capital amounted to 80,000,000 reis, or about 16,000*l.* sterling, one half of which was to be paid up within twenty days of the date of the contract of co-partnership. Due provision was made for the building and purchase of vessels; and the business of the company was to be managed by a treasurer at Pernambuco, in whose name the vessels were to be registered; and by three principal agents in the river Benin, where a slave factory was to be established, and an attempt was to be made to secure a monopoly of the trade with the native princes.

The four functionaries were not required to make any advance of capital, nor were they to receive any specific salary; but a half-yearly balance was to be struck, and if a loss should be the result, it was to be borne by the sleeping partners alone; if a profit, then that profit was to be divided into twenty-four shares instead of twenty, and the treasurer and the three superintendants were to be placed on the same footing with the members who had furnished the capital.

By a subsequent arrangement, a greater number of persons having been found necessary to superintend the affairs of the factory, the shares of the two junior superintendants were ordered to be subdivided. There were also sent out a carpenter,

two coopers, a cook, a barber, and a bleeder; and even these inferior persons were to become interested in the trade, by being allowed to purchase and send one slave each by every vessel belonging to the company,

The treasurer is a person of the name of Lisboa, who manages the business of Antonio da Silva and Company, at Pernambuco; and the chief agent in the Benin was that same Cezar who was compelled by the commander of the Fair Rosamond to write a letter to the Queen of a neighbouring tribe to transfer the negroes from the Veloz to the Camoës. Besides these vessels, the company had ordered two others to be built at Oporto; and a fifth, the Especulador, had been purchased and sent out to the coast for the use of the factory by the house of Duarte and Warren, of Bahia, (Qu. Is Mr. Warren an Englishman?) by whom also the outward cargo of the Camoës had been supplied.

The instructions of the treasurer Lisboa to the subordinate functionaries are not a little curious, and display such an intimate acquaintance with the African mode of trading, as to prove how well he was qualified for the office to which he had been appointed. As the agents sent out were strangers to the coast, they are strictly enjoined to adhere in all things to the established usages of the country, but to see that those articles exposed for sale which have not already a fixed value, should be estimated at the highest possible prices. When thefts take place in the factory, it is recommended that no notice should be taken of it, in case the thief should

happen to be a person in authority; as it would be better to submit to the loss, than come to an open rupture. To avoid such accidents, the strictest vigilance is recommended; and for this purpose it is suggested, that, instead of introducing the parties into the interior of the company's stores, the articles asked for should be brought out and shown to them in a place prepared for the purpose. Credit for the smallest article is strictly forbidden; because, besides the risk of loss, it induces others to expect the same favour, compels the factory to have recourse to unpleasant measures, and thus makes the party trusted its enemy. The principal chief or king is to be informed of the wealth and importance of the company, and that the factory is at all times to be furnished with the best rum and tobacco, and other desirable articles of trade. A commercial treaty is to be proposed, giving the factory exclusive privileges; in consideration of which, His Majesty, independent of his regular profits on the slaves he may furnish, is to be conciliated by occasional presents; of which an earnest was sent in the Camoës, from Pernambuco, in the shape of two satin dresses, which were to be converted into cloaks at Bahia, and presented to the king and prince at Benin. The agents are enjoined to treat the natives with the utmost civility, but never to place in them the slightest confidence. Intoxication is to be carefully guarded against among the servants of the company, as well as all contention or dispute with the people placed about the person of the king; and it is observed, that as all nations, even

the most barbarous, have some religion, it appears to the worthy treasurer of this slave-trading company, that the exercise of some external forms would give a desirable "moral force" to the establishment!

A code of signals is established by this company, for the purpose of carrying on a telegraphic correspondence between the factory at Benin, and their vessels outside the bar, and also to form a communication between these vessels on their return, and the company's agents on the Brazilian coast. As other foreign establishments were in existence at Benin, a good feeling towards their agents is recommended for the sake of mutual protection; and in case of failure in establishing a monopoly, the launches and other small vessels of the company were to be hired to their rivals in embarking their cargoes, on condition of their being paid at the rate of thirty picked slaves for each cargo so embarked, no other mode of payment being admissible. The greatest care is prescribed for preventing the knowledge of the code of signals from reaching the rival establishments, who are to be informed that the whole trade of the factory is with the Havana. After the first arrival, it was not intended that the company's vessels should enter the harbour, but that, by means of their boats, the outward cargo should be landed over the bar, and the slaves afterwards embarked in the same manner. During the interval which might be necessary, their vessels were to cruize to other points of the coast; and should a sufficient number of slaves not be ready on

their return, the agents at the factory were to judge as to the expediency of waiting for the completion of the cargo, or of proceeding with the number already provided, — it being laid down as a general rule, that, in the case of vessels carrying 300, the deficiency of fifty should not be a ground for a moment's delay.

In these intercepted papers, no apprehension is expressed of obstruction or interference on the part of the Brazilian authorities, or of the consular agents of Portugal, whose flag was to be assumed, on the one side; or from the Portuguese governor of Prince's Island, where wood, water, and provisions for the slaves were to be obtained, on the other. On the contrary, Antonio Fez Vianna, one of the agents of the company, had taken up his residence at Prince's, where he seems to have been living on the best possible terms with the governor. All the precautions adopted, have reference to the visits of Her Majesty's cruizers on the African and South American stations. The captains are provided with false letters of instructions, to be exhibited when necessary; and they are directed to fill up a prescribed form of protest, as if they had been plundered at sea by a pirate, in order to account for the return of the vessel to Pernambuco in ballast, after landing the cargo at some other point of the coast. A constant look out from the mast-head is prescribed; communication with other vessels is forbidden; and in the event of a chase, all contrivances are to be adopted for increasing the speed, such as cutting away stanchions, and loosening the

iron knees by which the beams are bound. If in danger of being overhauled, on the outward voyage, the slave irons and the boilers are to be thrown overboard: for this purpose they are to be kept in a place where the object can be promptly accomplished; and on approaching the shore, or meeting with other vessels, on the return voyage, the slaves are to be kept carefully out of sight.

The reports of the principal agent at the factory, Señor Joao Baptista Cezar, and the correspondence with the subordinate agents at a sub-factory stationed at Gotto, ten leagues up the river Benin, are also full of curious details. The chiefs, with whom the more important dealings of the factory are conducted, fully support the character of the African race for shrewdness and sagacity; and they appear to be more than a match for the Spaniards and Portuguese in the mysteries of bargain-making. It appears that the legitimate trade of the English residents at Benin, by lowering the market value of the goods offered in exchange for slaves by the one party, and for palm oil, gum copal, and ivory by the other, has a strong tendency to enhance the price of slaves, diminishing the profits of the dealers, and otherwise injuring the traffic. If legitimate commerce could be stimulated, therefore, it would have a most favourable effect in aiding the suppression of the slave trade; but if only carried so far as to inspire the natives with a taste for European and colonial commodities, without being able to gratify it fully, the consequence will just be the reverse, since it will only serve to extend

the demand for foreign luxuries, for which they have nothing so valuable to offer in return as the living sinews of their countrymen.

The King of Oery, whose dominions extend to the Benin, resides fourteen leagues up the river; but the town of Gotto, where the sub-factory is situated, appears to be a place of some importance, as the agent stationed there mentions that the market is often attended by 4000 individuals, and that, if he were supplied with a proper assortment of goods, of the want of which he constantly complains, he could purchase at any time a sufficient number of slaves to load a vessel of the burthen of 400 "*fardos.*" The word *fardo*, in Portuguese, is equivalent to the Spanish *bulto*, or bale of goods, the term by which the human victim is habitually spoken of.

When Señor Cezar found that there was no chance of his succeeding in the first object of his mission, which was to obtain for the factory a monopoly of the slave trade, at the expense of the King, with whom he was in treaty, but who was shrewd enough to see that, by shutting out competition in the supply of rum and tobacco, muslins and hardware, he would himself be the greatest sufferer; the next great object with the Pernambuco diplomatist was to negotiate for the repeal or modification of His Majesty's tariff on imports. The King was not to be moved, however, by any argument; so that Señor Cezar was compelled to content himself with a small abatement of the fees exacted by some of the grandees, such as the governor, the King's favourite

mistress, the magistrates, the interpreters, the headman of the fetish, the fisherman, and the priest; these minor fees, according to Pernambuco prices, amounting to upwards of $350 on each cargo.

It seems that a certain Señor Cardoza, of Bahia, at one time carried on an extensive slave trade in the port of Benin, and that in the course of six years he had so ingratiated himself in His Majesty's favour, as to obtain a total exemption from the payment of all fees or duties on imports. In struggling to obtain a similar indulgence, Señor Cezar was shrewdly told, that at the end of six years, when he had served His Majesty as faithfully as Cardoza had done, bringing him rum and tobacco of equal quality, he might expect to be placed on a similar footing. The fact seems to have been, however, that the negro prince and his people had discovered the inferior quality of the goods sent by this slave-trading company, and had placed such a low value on them in exchange, that the whole quantity, with which it was intended to purchase four cargoes of slaves, had been exhausted when little more than one had been completed. The tobacco was found to be so bad, that no purchase was made for the King without opening and examining the interior of the packages, which seldom corresponded with the outside. The private purchasers could be cheated more easily; but then Señor Cezar pathetically remarks, that whenever there is cause for doubt among these people, it destroys all confidence, and injures the trade most materially. Kind treatment, also, he observes, goes a great way with

them; and in illustration he mentions a case for the benefit of his countrymen, where one of the English factories had taken fire, and could not have been extinguished without the aid of the natives, who saved it from being burnt down.

The King is represented as exceedingly despotic in his system of trading, — not allowing any of his subjects to make a purchase, on the arrival of a vessel, until he has examined the cargo and bought all he requires. He is, besides, very difficult to deal with, and will not pay nearly so much as could be obtained from many of his people. The same thing happens on the sale of slaves. Those sold by the King are always paid for at a higher rate than such as are obtained from private individuals.

From all that can be gathered in the intercepted correspondence, it appears that the exchange of goods against slaves is not conducted by a simple system of barter. Something in the nature of a medium of exchange has been established, but no such explanation of it is given as to enable us to determine whether it is real or nominal. Cowries are sometimes spoken of as an article of import, but they certainly bear no such proportion to the general amount of imports as Mr. Buxton seems to fancy; nor do they appear to be used as the circulating medium in the purchase of slaves, or in the sale of the articles with which these slaves are purchased.

The King obtains for the slaves which he sends to the market, from 85 to 100 *bars*, while private individuals get only 75 or 80 *bars*. The value of

this bar is nowhere explained; but, in all probability, it is a mere money of account, which had originally the Spanish dollar for its basis. In the same way, Señor Cezar states, that from the King he got 15 *bars*, and from the people 20, for each roll of tobacco; allowing the King to open the roll, but refusing to other purchasers a similar power of examination. He complains bitterly of the profusion of the captain of the Camoës, in giving away a large quantity of tobacco to the King and the prince; but he proposes the present of a rich coral necklace to the Queen, as a return for a supply of shackles which Her Majesty had kindly provided, to make up for a similar quantity which it had been thought advisable to throw overboard in the course of the outward passage. The amiable qualities of the Queen are spoken of in the most bewitching terms; not only supplying leg irons in any quantity, but, when a difficulty arose with the King or the prince in striking a bargain for a lot of prime negroes, Her Majesty would kindly interpose, and save Mr. Cezar a world of chaffering. Doubtless the string of beads was richly earned.

The gentlemen of the factory, while they boast of their intimacy with the English residents, appear to have been occasionally not a little annoyed by the practical jokes in which our countrymen delight to indulge. When a boat could be procured, bearing any resemblance to that of a man-of-war, they would have it manned with the people of the English factories, and two or three of the most active and daring would mount such dresses

as could be procured to enable them to personate so many officers of the navy; and the whole party being strongly armed, they would proceed on board one of the slavers, insist on seeing the ship's papers, make a search of the vessel, and declare her a prize to the Queen of England. One of these jokes had the effect of so terrifying a slaver, that after landing her outward cargo, she is said to have proceeded to sea, and returned to Pernambuco in ballast, without once looking round to ascertain whether the main object of the voyage could not yet be accomplished. This sort of hoax has been played off, it seems, more than once, and on every occasion with perfect success. Might it not suggest an additional arm for the suppression of the slave trade? So exceedingly nervous are these scoundrels about the safety of their property, that on one occasion, soon after their arrival, they were put into an agony of terror by a circumstance which had certainly nothing jocular about it. The factories at Benin are established on a mangrove swamp, the houses being raised on wooden posts to protect them from the moisture. On the occasion of a death among the white inhabitants, the nature of the ground, and the want of any consecrated burying-place, makes it advisable, in place of interring the body, to carry it out to sea and commit it, sailor fashion, to the deep. This is generally done very early in the morning; and as all the boats belonging to the English factories are in requisition to give more solemnity to the ceremony, the affair, on its first occurrence, excited no small alarm at the head-quarters of the newly-formed slave factory, as,

from the early hour at which it took place, the procession had not been observed on its leaving the harbour, and on its return it was taken for a hostile anti-slavery armament.

It is not, however, the practical jokes of the English, which most discourage Mr. Cezar, who seems, upon the whole, to have been serving his employers at Pernambuco with reasonable fidelity. He complains most bitterly of the bad quality of the goods with which he had been furnished, and of the carelessness with which they had been assorted, the blame of which he throws on Messrs. Duarte and Warren, of Bahia. "I wish," he says to his correspondent, the treasurer, "you could see the English factories here, the quantities, quality, and variety of their goods. Whenever I think of them, it only reminds me of the inadequacy of the funds of our company. Under all the circumstances, I think there is very little inducement held out to those visiting this unhealthy climate, where, with such uncertain advantages, and with an establishment so ill supplied with the requisite articles for the purchase of slaves, we have death always staring us in the face." He then complains that the treasurer had not been well informed as to the necessary allowance for presents and duties to the native princes, and other contingent expenses, such as travelling to the sub-factory at Gotto and the King's residence at Oery, as every trip cost twenty "bars," besides provisions for twenty people in each canoe. "You must not be surprised," he says, "at the expenses on the first formation of so extensive an

establishment, which, were I to remain here, would soon be decreased; but my stay is uncertain, for many reasons that have induced me to change my views and feelings on the subject."

All sorts of tricks are played with the goods that are offered for sale to deceive the poor negroes. English calico is cut up the middle in order to double its length; and each piece of stripe, or handkerchief, is converted into two pieces, by cutting it across. The rum is adulterated, and the tobacco is packed expressly for deception; but these contrivances are very soon defeated by the sagacity of the negro and the more conscientious proceedings of the legitimate trader. The rule of multiplication is said to apply to every description of goods, except silks, beads, and coral. The half pieces of calico, twenty-eight yards in length, half pieces of other sorts of goods, and half pieces of handkerchiefs, are sold to the king for seven *bars*, and to private individuals for eight *bars*. Friars' broad-brimmed hats, so well suited to the climate, are bought by the king for four *bars*, and by others for five. Three pipes of spirits are equal in value to 4½ *fardos*, or *bultos*, or bales, or human beings; and other exchanges can be effected on equally advantageous terms: with this exception, however, that provisions of all sorts are sold at exorbitant prices. Fifty heads of Indian corn for a bar, five large yams or eight small ones for a bar, and other articles in proportion; so that the resolution was taken to supply the factory with all sorts of provisions,

except roots and poultry, by importation from Pernambuco.

Not content with driving a hard bargain on the spot, the king insists on the privilege of sending an adventure by the ships on their homeward voyage. His majesty sends a little *fardo* in the shape of a girl, with which to purchase a supply of sausages for his private use; and the queen begs to be allowed to ship two little boys, that she may receive in return a reasonable supply of sugar and souchong for her majesty's tea table.

Such is a brief specimen of the extraordinary information disclosed by this mass of intercepted correspondence.

On the capture of a slaver, when the captain of the prize has not had time to destroy his papers, the disclosures are generally curious. In sailing from the Havana these vessels are provided with at least two sets of papers, — one Spanish, the other Portuguese; and latterly an American set also. The Spanish papers have the effect of facilitating the clearance of the vessel, and of procuring assistance more readily in case she should be compelled by stress of weather or otherwise to seek for shelter in any port of Cuba or Porto Rico. The Portuguese papers are there for the express purpose of evading the provisions of the tenth, commonly called the equipment clause, of the Spanish treaty; and, unless there be American papers on board, are to be used exclusively whenever occasion requires, after the vessel has lost sight of the Morro Castle.

The use of the American papers will be shown hereafter.

It is to be regretted that a uniform system of jurisprudence has not hitherto prevailed among the various courts of mixed commission established for the suppression of the slave trade. The nationality of the ship or vessel accused of participation in this illicit traffic has become a matter of great importance. If Portuguese, she might possibly escape, because she had not yet received, or had contrived to get rid of her cargo; whereas, if Spanish, she would be caught in the net which the tenth clause of the treaty has provided for that purpose. Thus, in the case of the Opposiçao, detained by HerMajesty's sloop Pearl, Captain Lord Clarence Paget, off the coast of Cuba, on the 25th of April, 1838, and carried into the Havana, there seems to have been some misunderstanding either on the part of Lord Paget, or of the British commissary judge, Mr. Kennedy, as to the jurisdiction of the mixed court at the Havana; so that after consulting with the judge, and obtaining his written opinion that he would have no hesitation in giving a decision for condemnation, Lord Paget, for some reason which does not appear on the face of the papers, considered that that opinion rendered it impossible for him to pursue any other course than that of sending the vessel to Sierra Leone.

This tedious voyage having been accomplished, the case was first brought before the British and Portuguese mixed court, under the impression that a Spanish character to the vessel could not be es-

tablished; the papers produced being Portuguese, and the nominal captain on board being a native of Portugal. It was proved that the nominal proprietor of the Opposiçao was one Manüel Cardozo, a merchant resident at the Havana; and as it is now held that the national character of a merchant is to be taken from the place of his residence, and of his mercantile establishment, and not from the place of his birth, the proceedings in the Portuguese court were withdrawn, because the risk of acquittal would there have been imminent; and a fresh prosecution was instituted under the equipment clause of the Spanish treaty, before the British and Spanish mixed court. The judges of that court having found no difficulty in recognising the principle of nationality, as proved by the place of residence of the owner, the articles of equipment on board were amply sufficient to subject the vessel to condemnation. Had this been clearly understood at the Havana, the whole voyage from thence to Sierra Leone might have been avoided.

It is perhaps to be regretted that when the commander of a British cruiser carries a slaving prize to the Havana for the purpose of condemnation, he finds no legal adviser there, except the British judges of the court, with whom he can consult as to the course he ought to pursue. It is not to be supposed that a mere officer in the navy, however intelligent he may be, can himself be competent to form a correct opinion on the difficult questions of international jurisprudence which are constantly presenting themselves; and it is

scarcely consistent with judicial decorum that the same functionary who is afterwards to decide the question of law should first have instructed the prosecutor as to his course of proceeding. If the British judge becomes a partisan, his opinions on the judgment seat will possibly not be treated with the becoming degree of respect by his foreign colleagues of the mixed court; and the foreign judges in their turn are provoked into an antagonist partisanship, which in such circumstances, it must be admitted, are not altogether inexcusable. Were lawyers or proctors allowed to practise in the mixed court at the Havana, as they are in the corresponding courts at Sierra Leone, this anomaly might be avoided, and the captor would at once have access to the advice of the most experienced practitioner in the place, who would not only serve to protect the interests of the captor, but the liberty of the slaves, and the dignity of the British members of the court.

The written instructions with which the captain or supercargo of a slaver is provided by his owners for his government throughout the voyage are often, when he has not had time to destroy them, of such a nature as to offer to the captors many valuable suggestions for the suppression of the slave trade. From the large sums engaged in these speculations, the parties are naturally imbued with all the caution and timidity which the possession of capital proverbially engenders. The slave dealers at the Havana are sometimes afraid of their very best friends; as appears from a letter found on board the brig Veterano, a prize to Her Majesty's ship

Brisk, Lieutenant Arthur Kellett, commander, addressed by the Havana branch of the notorious house of Pedro Martinez and Co., of Cadiz, to Don Angel Ximenez, the master of the vessel; a person who appears to have profited by his previous speculations, as the balance at his credit with the house of Martinez is stated to have amounted to $14,966.

In this letter, for instance, the "Angel" is warned to beware of the Portuguese authorities, who are supposed to have received orders from their government to take away the papers with which vessels found sailing under the Portuguese flag may have been provided; and he is equally cautioned, in case of suffering any damage on the return voyage, on no account to enter any port belonging to the United States; because the people of that country would be so shocked by the arrival of a vessel with slaves on board, that the cargo would be confiscated,—" of which there had been instances; " if these private instructions of the Messrs. Martinez are to be believed. If he should be compelled to go into port on account of damage, he is recommended to prefer Porto Rico or St. Thomas, where he is assured that he would be provided with every necessary assistance on addressing himself to Mr. Joseph Ybern in the Danish island, or to Don Pedro Enarche at Porto Rico.

He is desired to exercise his own discretion as to which side of the island of Cuba it might be best for him to approach with his cargo. In the event of his coming by the south side, the point of Guanimar, or some other in that neighbourhood, is

recommended, as a convenient place for effecting the landing; and he is told that he would find pilots posted at Rocky Key, Crocodile, Isle of Pines, and French Key, as well as an agent at Guanimar, by the name of Don Jose Miro Pié. In case he should come by the north side, he is to land his cargo either at one of the places between the Havana and Matanzas, or between Camarioca and Mariel.

Wherever the landing takes place, the captain is instructed to despatch a messenger to the owners at the Havana, with the necessary information as to the number of slaves that have been landed, the classes of which they are composed, and other particulars, in order that some person may be sent from thence to receive them.

He is strongly impressed with the importance of taking such care of the cargo as that it may be landed in good condition, because "on that depends its greater or less value." The preservation of order among the crew is also strongly recommended, especially in the distribution of provisions, as from the want of due precaution in this particular dissensions often arise which produce the most fatal results. Extreme vigilance is enjoined to prevent an insurrection among the *bales*, or *bultos*, the term by which the slaves are spoken of throughout the correspondence, as instances of insurrection are represented as not uncommon.

The term "*bulto de efectos*," or bale of goods, is the regular phrase by which a slave is spoken of by the original importers. Among the inhabitants

of the Havana, the foreigners especially, there are some who, to avoid the bad habits and the immorality so prevalent among the Creole negroes, prefer even for domestic purposes the untutored African just landed from the slave ship; on the same principle, perhaps, that a citizen of London may occasionally prefer a servant from the country, however ignorant of the duties to which he may be called. When purchased at first hand, the importer gives a bill of parcels with the bale of goods, and a receipt in that form for the price. Such bills and receipts may easily be seen in the hands of such of the foreign residents as have chosen African domestics.

Above all, the wary slave dealer requires the captain of his ship to take care that a good look-out be constantly kept on board; and the moment a sail is seen, there must be no sort of hesitation as to who or what she may be. The resolution must be at once taken to fly, while there is yet time to do so; "for if you hesitate you are lost." In the event of being pursued while coasting the island of Cuba, and of being obliged to run his vessel on shore, the captain is directed to save the ship's papers on his own person, together with his letters and other documents; and in case of great misfortune, he is to throw them overboard and sink them.

In another letter from the house of Martinez, which fell into the hands of the active captor of the Veterano, addressed to Don Jose H. Alvarez, their agent at Gallinas, the opinion is expressed that the business of the factories on the coast of

Africa would be likely to suffer very much from competition, but not without the hope that their newly established rivals would not be permanent; for these gentlemen observe, "Undertakings of such a nature require the greatest attention, and also, above all, ample funds; and as no one can reckon what you will possess successively, we flatter ourselves that at last the business under your charge will become, owing to your ability and vigilance, the principal one for commercial transactions. Besides the factory under Riera and Grassi, it appears that Aragon, who went out in the Mary Jane, took merchandise with him to establish a business for Abarzuza and Azopardo; but for the reasons just stated we do not think that this need alarm you *beyond a certain point*, particularly as we reckon upon the foresight with which you will endeavour to thwart their views." In writing to another of their agents these gentlemen observe, "The vessels which have lately arrived have brought a large proportion of females, which we have not been able to dispose of at any price; on this account we recommend you to endeavour to embark the smallest possible number, or none, in order that we may dispose of the cargoes to advantage."

In another of these intercepted letters, addressed by the not less notorious house of Blanco and Carballo, at the Havana, to Don Ignacio Perez Rolo, one of their correspondents at Gallinas, we find some further details, which serve to disclose the private views of the slave dealers. One of their

vessels, the Nueva Amable Salomé, had arrived about the middle of September, 1838, at Camarioca, not far from Matanzas, and had landed a cargo of 253 slaves, of whom twenty-seven were sick and seven had died soon after they were landed. There also perished during the voyage seventy-four others; "so that we shall with difficulty," these gentlemen pathetically observe, "get back the cost of the enterprise; for we have to account for the fourteen that were sent as freight belonging to Don Mariano Dias, Don Joachim Sanches, Don Jose de Aberzuza, and Don Francisco de Grassi. The captain said, in answer to the observations and accusations that were made against him, "that there were about 100 *bales* embarked at your port infected with the putrid fever, and that all the precautions that we could use on board did not suffice to stop the mortality; so that we may say only half have been saved of the number that ought to have been yielded by the abundant and well assorted barter put on board, calculated to produce more than 400 *bultos*."

A few days afterwards these same parties write to another of their correspondents at Gallinas, Don Tomas Rodriguez Buren, who held a share, it appears, in the Amable Salomé made over to him by the senior partner of their house, saying, "It would have been better for you if you had not taken it, for the business wears a most unfavourable aspect; so much so, that although the vessel arrived safely, we shall scarcely get back our outlay; for out of the small number embarked, there died eighty-one,

during the voyage, and shortly after landing. The sale was effected at Matanzas at an average of $306; the third part in cash, and the rest at eight months. The buyers are perfectly safe. The sick, who were twenty in number, brought $2303 4."

The system of sending slaves on freight is explained in another letter from Blanco and Carballo to Don Mariano Dias at Gallinas. That person, it seems, had embarked six bales in the Amable Salomé at the freight of 50 per cent.; and as the vessel had arrived in safety, the consigners became liable for the average price which the rest of the cargo had procured; no attempt being made to distinguish the individual slaves belonging to the shipper, or to determine whether they might not have been among the number of those who perished. According to this system, supposing a slave on the coast of Africa to cost $100, and to be worth $300 when landed in Cuba, the owner of the ship receives $150 as his passage money, including the risk of death on the voyage, or before sales are effected; so that on his $100 of outlay the consigner has $50 to cover the risk of a total loss by capture.

The injunction to fly on the slightest appearance of danger, contained in most of the intercepted letters of instruction to the captains of slavers, affords a fair indication of the altered spirit which now generally prevails in the management of slaving speculations. In one of the contracts for wages between the owners of a captured slaver, the Constituçao and her crew, so lately as the end of

the year 1838, it is nevertheless stipulated, " that wages shall not be due in the event of capture by a vessel of equal force, nor even in the event of capture by a vessel of superior force, unless after an obstinate defence; and in that case the wages of those who will not fight shall be forfeited, and divided among the brave defenders."

The following is another of these intercepted letters: —

" From the moment that you sail and lose sight of the Morro, you must use no other papers but the Portuguese, unless you should be obliged to put into any of the ports of this island, in which case you will make use of the Spanish papers.

" Your route to the coast of Africa must be that which you may think the most safe; you will touch in going at the Gallinas: there you will see Don Pablo Alvarez. You will hear from him if he will give you your cargo for the merchandize which you carry, which cargo must be from 200 upwards; and the said Pablo ought also to provide provisions for them, without the undertaking being charged a ' real.' But if you should find that you can do nothing with this gentleman, or with any other with whom you should accidentally meet at that place, you will judge for yourself how you can best make the said cargo; taking care, however, that your stay does not exceed 100 days. Should you, at last, not be able to arrange your business, you will set sail without losing a moment, and continue your voyage towards the south, where you will settle the affair according to circumstances,

taking care to visit the points of Loando, Ambriz, and all other trading places throughout Congo, in order to see in which you may find the greatest advantage.

" On your return voyage you will take the route which you may consider the safest for your owners. I prohibit you, under whatever pretext or motive it may be, from landing your cargo at St. Jago or Trinidad de Cuba. If, however, you should be absolutely compelled to do so, you will not dispose of the cargo until you shall have received my orders.

" As soon as the vessel shall have landed her cargo, you will cause her that instant to get under weigh, leaving on shore fetters, boiler, or whatever may cause detention.

" In case you should go to Guanimar, you will address yourself to Don Jose Miro; if to Bayahonda, to the house most suitable for the purpose; at Cabañas to Don Luis Amiot; at Mariel to Don Antonio Bela; and at any other place to the person with whom it may be most advantageous to treat for the cargo.

" I most particularly enjoin you not to lose any opportunity of informing me of the state of the undertaking, and what result may be looked for, writing for that purpose by every vessel that sails, whether Spanish or Portuguese."

Here I my also take the liberty of observing that there seems to be no good reason why the licences issued by the Admiralty for the capture

and detention of slavers under the provisions of the existing treaties with Spain and Portugal should be so limited in their number. If one of Her Majesty's ships, not provided with a licence, were to fall in with a whole squadron of slavers, she would be constrained to suffer them to pass with impunity. Whenever a ship is put in commission, no matter what her destination may be, it humbly appears to me that the captain or other officer in command should be provided, as a matter of course, with a licence for the detention of slavers, since that licence is always liable to be controlled by the special instructions of the superior officer, or of the Board of Admiralty, so that no possible disadvantage to the service could arise in consequence of its having been issued.

A short time before my arrival at Jamaica, a slaver, the Feliz, was detained within a few miles of Port Royal by Her Majesty's steam packet Flamer, at that time engaged in the service of the post office. Unfortunately for the commander he was not provided with an Admiralty licence; but happily for the interests of humanity he was in the near neighbourhood of Port Royal, from whence the Commodore, on being apprised of the detention, sent out one of his boats under the command of Mr. Hammel Ingold Strutt, the sailing master of the Madagascar, to take possession of the prize. I wish it to be understood that it was not Commodore Douglas who had then the command of the Jamaica station, but his predecessor, Sir John Strutt Peyton, whose conduct in detaining the

prize, without allowing the gallant commander of the Flamer to have any share of the head-money, was the subject of very general remark in Jamaica up to the period of my arrival in the island.

Of course it would not be convenient if the post office steamers were to be tempted by head-money or tonnage-money to go out of their track in quest of such prizes; but there seems to be no good reason for tying up their hands altogether, by denying them the needful authority. It was no doubt from the pure principle of discountenancing the indiscreet zeal of inferior officers, that Sir John Strutt Peyton thought it necessary to put the whole of the prize money of the Feliz into his own private pocket.

When the new arrangements shall have been completed for the conveyance of the mails of all nations in these seas by means of numerous and powerful steamers, all sailing under Her Majesty's flag, the chances of capture would be greatly multiplied if every one of them were provided with the necessary licence. The detention of the mail would be so short as in all probability to be wholly imperceptible; far shorter, in fact, than what is constantly occurring, under the arbitrary authority of the lieutenant-governor of one or other of the islands, who may be unwilling to allow the packet to pass until he has completed the writing of his despatches.

All that the steamers would have to do, now that resistance and fighting are found to be unprofitable, would be to take the prize in tow, and

leave her at the first British station that lay in his course, or in charge of the first British man of war he might happen to meet. If letters of marque were sanctioned by the treaty, the only objection to their being used for the suppression of the slave trade would be the danger of abuse. In the case of Her Majesty's ships and packets there can be no such danger; and I cannot help expressing therefore a confident hope, that the Honourable the Board of Admiralty will consent to a much more extended issue of licences against slavers than their lordships have hitherto sanctioned.

The Feliz was lost on her passage from Jamaica to Sierra Leone; but her cargo, consisting of 324 slaves, 240 males and 84 females, had fortunately been landed at Kingston, and there placed under the charge of Mr. J. G. Swainson, the collector of the customs. The mate of the Madagascar, Mr. W. H. Baugh, who had been appointed prize master, was not provided with a chronometer; and having been out of his reckoning, found it necessary to come to anchor near Fort St. Louis on the Senegal, where he landed to procure a supply of water and provisions, of which he was much in need. In attempting to get under weigh the vessel drifted on shore and went to pieces. Mr. Baugh and his crew were plundered by the Moors, who carried them into the interior, and treated them with great cruelty, until they were rescued by a party of French traders, who enabled them to reach Senegal, from whence they found their way to the British settlement of St. Mary's, on the river Gambia, and from

that point they were brought on to Sierra Leone in her Majesty's ship Curlew.

The master of the Feliz deserted the party at Senegal from an evident disinclination to proceed to Sierra Leone and submit to examination before the mixed court. Had he or any other agent of the owner been present at the trial, it is not impossible that it might have issued in an acquittal, and in that case Commodore Peyton, instead of pocketing the head-money, might have been subjected in serious damages, in consequence of the loss of the ship and the sequestration of her cargo, combined with the fact of the Feliz having been originally detained and placed in the power of the Madagascar by one of her Majesty's ships not provided with a licence.

It is not a little extraordinary that the British government, having so many difficulties to contend with on the part of Spain and Portugal, should itself take pains to create factitious impediments to the full and free exercise of the powers conferred by the treaties. It sometimes happens that these fast-sailing clippers after being condemned by the mixed courts are found to be exceedingly useful as tenders to the men-of-war on the West India station; and it is clear that nothing short of steam could be better fitted than the captured slavers themselves for the suppression of the trade, when commanded and manned by British officers and British crews. It is held, however, at home that the necessary powers must emanate directly from the Board of Admiralty; and that their lordships either cannot

or ought not to delegate that authority even to the admiral on the station.

This very case occurred a few years ago, when the Paul Pry, an old slaver, having been purchased by the commodore with the view of employing her as a tender to her Majesty's ship Sybille, was placed under the command of Lieutenant Harvey, with the commodore's written authority to seize and detain all such vessels as she might meet with, engaged in the slave trade. This authority was not considered sufficient by the government at home, on the ground "that the Paul Pry could not justly be considered to have formed a part of, or to have been incorporated into, the royal navy of Great Britain."

The question arose on the capture of the Donna Barbara slaver, which had first been detained by Mr. Brown, a master in the royal navy, who, while proceeding to Sierra Leone in another slaver, the Andorinia, in the capacity of prize-master, fell in with, and detained, the Donna Barbara, without any licence or authority whatever. According to admiralty law, the zeal of Mr. Brown had betrayed him into an act which was considered unwarrantable; and the Donna Barbara would have escaped condemnation, but for the accidental presence of Lieutenant Harvey in the Paul Pry at Sierra Leone.

The judges of the mixed court saw no objection to Lieutenant Harvey's title; although on the revisal of the judgment at home, a flaw was found in it by the King's Advocate, on the ground that the Paul Pry ought not to be legally regarded as a tender to the Sybille, and for that reason, the com-

modore, Sir F. A. Collier, was deprived of the bounty to which he would otherwise have been entitled.

It might possibly require a long negotiation to obtain an additional article to the existing treaties, authorising the capture and detention of slavers by vessels not strictly incorporated into the British navy. But surely it depends on the British government alone, to determine in what mode, or by what forms, a vessel newly built, captured or purchased, may so be incorporated.

The governments of Spain or Portugal can have no sort of right to judge of a mere formality so purely ministerial in its nature, as the manner in which a vessel is to be admitted into the navy. If the officer in charge of it is provided, at the time of the capture, with a copy of the instructions annexed to the treaty, bearing the signature of the first Lord of the Admiralty, the stipulation has been fully complied with.

The case of Mr. Brown was not, perhaps, so clear; because, until the condemnation of the Andorinia, the mere capture of the prize in question could not well raise her to the rank of a tender; but I confess it seems to me too ridiculous to have denied him that power, as regarded the Paul Pry; although the Paul Pry had not had an opportunity of rejoining the Sybille, between the period of her being fitted up as a tender, and her detention of the Donna Barbara.

Nay, it seems to have been held by the Advocate-General in the year 1830, that a tender, after joining

the ship of war to which she is attached, and regularly furnished with the signed instructions, becomes disqualified for the detention of a slaver, *flagrante delicto*, as soon as she has removed from her ship "to a considerable distance;" but what specific interval is to be regarded as a "considerable" disqualifying "distance," the learned advocate has not thought it necessary to determine.

Really this is the most unpardonable trifling that can well be imagined, on a subject where interests so vital and important as liberty and life itself are at issue.

Another question affecting in a serious degree the great principle of the universal right of mankind to the enjoyment of freedom, has been barely mooted with reference to the newly emancipated colonies; but so far as I have been able to learn, it has not yet been legally determined. When it comes to be considered either by our law officers at home, or by the British judges in the courts of mixed commission abroad, it is to be hoped that it will be treated with more attention to the great interests at stake than it has hitherto obtained.

It has long been regarded as one of the most glorious privileges of the soil of Great Britain, that its very touch confers freedom; and that to land on its shores is equivalent, in effect, to the most solemn act of manumission in any other country. The existence of negro slavery in the West Indies was a mere exception to this glorious rule; so that if the capture of a slaver should, in consequence of some legal subtlety, not be followed

by condemnation; and should the cargo have been landed, as in the case of the Feliz at Jamaica, for want of seaworthiness, or for any other reason whatever, it seems to follow that the captives have acquired a right to their liberty, of which no tribunal on earth can legally deprive them.

I am delighted to find that this extended view of the subject has been sanctioned and countenanced by one of the ablest ministers and most amiable men, to whom the interests of our colonies were ever entrusted. In a communication from the colonial to the foreign department in 1838, Lord Glenelg directed Mr. Under Secretary Stephen to express it as his lordship's opinion that even if it should ultimately appear that the slavers whose cargoes had been landed in the West Indies to await the judgment of the Mixed Commission Court were not liable to condemnation, the removal of such persons, as slaves, from any British colony at which they may so have arrived, or their detention there in confinement to await the adjudication at Sierra Leone, would be inconsistent with the law for the abolition of the slave trade, and with the laws in force in the colonies.

CHAP. XXI.

AMERICAN CONSUL AT HAVANA. — CASE OF THE VENUS. — INTERNATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. — SHIPMENTS OF SHACKLES. — A FRENCH SLAVE DEALER. — FRENCH CONSUL-GENERAL. — ABUSES OF THE AMERICAN FLAG. — CASE OF THE AMISTAD.

In consequence of the arrival of the Venus slaver already referred to, known afterwards, for good and sufficient reasons, as the Duquesa de Braganza, a correspondence took place during my stay at the Havana, between her Majesty's commissioners and Mr. Trist the American consul. This correspondence is interesting in various points of view, not merely as illustrating the means by which the traffic in slaves is carried on, but as throwing light on the feelings entertained by the people of the United States of America on the subject of any English interference in their national or administrative concerns. In this latter point of view, the correspondence impressed itself more strongly on my attention, as on my arrival at Washington not long afterwards, several of the members of the government, and, among others, the president himself, took occasion to speak to me of the merits of Mr. Trist and of the high opinion entertained of his character and services by all classes of his fellow citizens. The correspondence having been communicated to both go-

vernments, the gentlemen at Washington thought it well, perhaps, thus indirectly to impress on the mind of an Englishman, and through him on some of his countrymen, their entire concurrence in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Trist. Independent of his personal merits, it may be well to notice that Mr. Trist is closely allied to the republican aristocracy of America, having married a grand-daughter of President Jefferson, and established a little colony of that illustrious stock at the Havana; and do or say what they please, the people of the United States are very far from being insensible to the distinctions either of ancestry or title.

The Venus, a ship of 460 tons burthen, having been built at Baltimore in the early part of 1838 expressly for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, arrived at the Havana on the 4th of August in that year, and sailed from thence shortly afterwards under American colours. Her arrival and equipment produced no small sensation, as before leaving the port, she was said with her cargo to have cost her owners, the notorious Mazorra, and a Frenchman of the name of Gautier, no less than $100,000. On her return, four months afterwards, she brought herself the first intelligence of having embarked the unprecedented number of 1100 negroes, the survivors of whom, 860 in number, were successfully landed, notwithstanding the presence of several of her Majesty's cruizers on the coast. She returned into port under Portuguese colours; but it was a matter of doubt among in-

telligent persons, whether, during the short period of her absence, she could have had time to proceed to any Portuguese settlement for the purpose of effecting the pretended change in her registry. Even without this delay, the measures taken by her owners for securing a cargo against her arrival on the coast, must either have been exceedingly well concerted, or else the whole voyage must have been attended with the most extraordinary good luck. It was asserted and believed at the Havana, that no less than $200,000 had been cleared by this single adventure. I am disposed to believe, however, that this is an exaggeration to the extent of one-fourth, which, after all, leaves ample encouragement for the prosecution of such undertakings.

The facts which gave rise to the correspondence with the American consul were the notoriety with which a large vessel like the Venus, built at Baltimore, had arrived from the United States, and sailed on a slaving voyage under the flag of that nation, together with the belief that several American citizens had embarked in her from the Havana, had been present on the coast of Africa, when the slaves were taken on board, and had also witnessed their landing on the shores of the island of Cuba. It was reported, also, that the Venus had been visited on the coast of Africa, still showing her American colours, by the officers of a British cruizer, who inquired what they were doing there, and received for answer, that they

were Americans, and that, as for the English, it was no business of theirs. It was even made a subject of boast, that although one of the British cruizers on the coast had watched the proceedings of the Venus, and had actually seen her receive part of her cargo on board, yet that such was her superiority in sailing, it was found impossible to come up with her on the attempt being made to give chase. While the Venus remained at the Havana, she was visited and examined by Commander Frazer of the Nimrod, and other officers of her Majesty's navy. The Portuguese papers with which she returned were said to be those of a veteran slaver too old for the African trade, which, in the course of her criminal career, had sailed under many a flag, and for every flag had a different *alias*. She had been originally the French "Paquebot Bordelais, No. 1.," subsequently the Spanish ship Europa, afterwards the Spanish ship Alerta, and, finally, the Portuguese ship Duquesa de Braganza, the name which the Venus assumed in order to have the benefit of her Portuguese papers, without the trouble or expense of going to purchase them.

Under these circumstances it will not be thought remarkable, at least in England, nor perhaps in any other country but the United States, that the British commissioners who have been sent to the Havana for the express purpose of contributing, as far as lay in their power, to the suppression of the slave trade, should have felt it their duty to communicate the facts, as far as they had transpired, to the consular representative of the American

government, and to have offered such friendly suggestions as might have presented themselves on the occasion, such as an appeal to the Captain-General, or the intervention of the ship Boston of the American navy, which happened to be then in the harbour. By bringing the culprits to punishment, Mr. Trist himself, his fellow-citizens, and his government, would have been exculpated from all countenance to the disgraceful abuse which had thus been made of the national flag. Mr. Trist, however, saw the matter in a very different light. A former denunciation of a similar abuse conceived in the same spirit, and addressed to that gentleman by the predecessors of the present commissioners, was treated in a manner which certainly cannot be justified. The only acknowledgment which the consul condescended to make of the receipt of this first communication was to return it. On this second occasion of the denunciation of the Venus, he pursued a different course. An answer was immediately returned, in which the former communication is spoken of in the most indignant terms, as an "insult" and an "outrage" to the American government. It is not easy to trace any substantial distinction between the two cases. If the first was an outrage, the second was no less so. The consul's objection is, that no official relations exist between the British commissioners and the representative of the United States at the port of the Havana, and that at all events "they could not be such as to allow him to recognise the right of any agent of any foreign government to interfere in

any possible mode or degree in the discharge of his duties, or to forbear repelling such interference if offered."

"This," he says, "is a necessary consequence of the independence of our two countries. You refer to the peculiar relationship in which the United States are placed with Great Britain. Since the 4th of July, 1776, the only relation in which they stand to each other is that of two independent nations "enemies in war, in peace friends." Of that independence one of the vital parts consists in the exclusive execution, no less than the exclusive enactment by each of its own laws; rigorously excluding and repelling all interference in the one no less than the other."

This, it must be confessed, is pushing the doctrine of international independence to a most inconvenient extreme. In afterwards remarking upon it, Lord Palmerston desires the commissioners to observe to Mr. Trist, "that the two governments having by the tenth article of the Treaty of Ghent, mutually engaged to each other that they would 'use their utmost endeavours to promote the entire abolition of the slave trade,' it seems to be perfectly consistent with the respect which the agents of each country must feel for the other country, that they should not only themselves act in strict accordance with the spirit of the engagement which their own government has contracted, but that they should furnish to the agents of the other government any information which may be calculated to enable that other government more

effectually to accomplish the common purpose." In this despatch, also, Lord Palmerston, with reference to some allusion in Mr. Trist's letter to the manufacture of goods in Great Britain, expressly designed for the African trade, directs the commissioners to state to that gentleman, that "if he can at any time furnish her Majesty's government, through them, with any information which may directly or indirectly enable her Majesty's government to enforce the penalties of the law against British subjects who may be concerned in slave trade, her Majesty's government will feel most sincerely obliged to him."

The allusion here referred to is not undeserving of notice, there being great reason to fear that the statement of Mr. Trist may have some foundation in fact. He speaks of the amount of British fabrics made expressly for the coast of Africa, and of the number of casks of shackles of British manufacture annually exported to this island; "some of which," he says, "*I have seen* passing through the custom-house here, without attracting any more notice from either officers or bystanders, than so many boxes of Dutch cheese." He talks, also, of the possibility of tracing these things to their sources, so as to be able to designate every British manufacturer, merchant, and ship, from and through which they had reached thus far on their way to the coast of Africa. It is not unworthy of consideration, whether something might not be made out of this suggestion. If such a friendly understanding as that contemplated in the tenth

article of the Treaty of Ghent, had actuated the American consul, on his seeing the casks of shackles of British manufacture in the custom-house, at the Havana, he would instantly have denounced the fact to the British consul or the British commissioners, who might have been able, as he suggests, from the marks or brands on the casks, if by no better means, to have traced them through the ship from which they were landed, and the custom-house authorities in England, to the parties by whom they were shipped and manufactured. Such a suggestion ought not to be lost on the British authorities at the Havana, who might find means to discover, on some future occasion, such facts as seem to have fallen under the notice of the American consul; and when so discovered, it would evidently become their duty to follow up the disclosure by such inquiries as would bring home the offence to the original culprits in England. Sufficient evidence would probably be found to satisfy an English jury that the parties who exported casks of shackles to the Havana, could not be without a guilty knowledge of their criminal destination.

Not long after the correspondence with the American consul a similar case occurred with regard to a French vessel, Le Havre, which, having sailed from the Havana under French colours, and with several French citizens on board, for the coast of Africa, had re-entered the port, after landing no less than 500 negroes on the shores of the island. In this case there was the

farther fact, that the ostensible owner was a Frenchman, of the name of Forcade, enjoying a disgraceful notoriety, not second to any in the place, for the extent of his dealings; and it might have been added, that his partners are Englishmen; that it is with English capital his house has been established; that a quarrel has ensued about the division of the spoil; and that important disclosures may, in consequence, be expected. The French consul-general, M. Mollien, to whom a denunciation of the fact was addressed, in terms in all respects corresponding to those of the letter to Mr. Trist, felt no such squeamishness about the national independence, but applied, with the utmost promptitude, to the Prince de Joinville, who was then, with his ship, at the Havana. His Royal Highness, in concert with Captain Perceval, of the French navy, feeling no alarm for French independence, lost no time in ordering Le Petit Thouars to make ready to leave the harbour in search of the suspected vessel. This mission was not successful; the Petit Thouars returned from her cruize without meeting with the Havre, which is said to have been lost on the shores of the island after landing her cargo, not without the suspicion that the wreck was accomplished wilfully, as the most efficacious mode of silencing all inquiries. The proceedings thus adopted, on the part of the French authorities, present a striking contrast with the tone and spirit of Mr. Trist's communication. It is not to be believed, or suspected, that Mr. Trist

would wilfully lend his own countenance, or that of his important office, to cover a practice which the laws of his country have declared to be worthy of the pains of piracy; and yet it is almost incredible that after the enjoyment of sixty-three years of undisputed independence, any doubt should yet remain about the validity or permanence of the acquisition.

A few months before the period of this angry correspondence the British commissary judge makes a report to Lord Palmerston of the purport of several conversations he had had on this subject with the American consul, whom he justly represents as a gentleman of high character, as well as of considerable reading and observation. On every point relating to the prohibited traffic, Mr. Kennedy regrets to say that he received the most discouraging replies; and adds, that such seemed to be the general feeling among the American community of the Havana. "They all seem to declare that it would be a question not to be entered on, of inquiring into their equipments, as interfering with their trade, not knowing how far such interferences might be led to extend; and that England might as well think of closing up the workshops of Birmingham, where they say the bolts and shackles are manufactured, as call on America to forbid the sailing of vessels equipped with them."

It is due to Mr. Trist to state, as regards the abuse of the American flag, that not long before the date of his letter to the British commissioners,

he caused a vessel, called The Thomas, of Havana, to be seized, because she had sailed under American colours, without possessing a regular registry, but only what is called "*a sea letter*," which consists of a bill of sale, together with a declaration, on oath, by the purchaser, made before a notary, that he is an American citizen; and the British consul reports a declaration of Mr. Trist, that no other vessel should clear from the Havana under American colours, unless duly registered.

The plain object of the slavers, in thus endeavouring to shelter themselves under the American flag, is, that British cruisers may be deterred from insisting on that right of search which the government of the United States alone, persists in refusing, although asked for on the broad principle of reciprocity. The motive for this refusal is, no doubt, to be traced to a consciousness of the fact, that the United States' navy is manned, to a large extent, by foreigners; and that of these the majority are British seamen. In time of peace, however, there can be no sufficient motive on the part of the British government for attempting to restrain her Majesty's subjects from earning higher wages than they could obtain at home, by entering the United States' navy, or engaging themselves on board American merchant ships. In time of war, on the other hand, the want of a treaty will, of course, be disregarded, and the commanders of her Majesty's ships will exercise the right of search whenever they find an opportunity, without asking the consent of the

American government. The refusal of this mutual right of search, therefore, on the part of the United States resolves itself into a tacit declaration, that that government is to extend the protection of its flag to all the miscreants who think fit to resort to it, in order to shield themselves from the consequences of a crime declared by the laws of the Union to be worthy of the pains of piracy. Its effect will be to reduce the British government to the disagreeable alternative of exercising a right prescribed by the law of nature and humanity, if not by that of nations; or of disgracefully abandoning a contest for the attainment of the objects of which the British people have evinced their sincerity by the prodigality with which they have lavished their treasure for its accomplishment. When the case comes to be clearly understood, the people of the United States will never sanction a resort to arms in support of a barren principle, in the maintenance of which no honest citizen can, by any possibility, have the remotest interest.

In further evidence of the facts on which this reasoning is founded, I refer to the clear and forcible despatch of her Majesty's commissioners at Sierra Leone, dated 31st December 1838, received 12th June 1839, and printed as an appendix to the parliamentary papers relating to the slave trade, class A. further series, 1838–9. I refer also to the despatches of her Majesty's consul at the Havana, since the commencement of the year 1839, and printed in class B. of the same

series. On the 5th of January, the consul writes to Lord Palmerston, and on the same day, to Mr. Fox, her Majesty's minister at Washington, that the practice had arisen of sending Spanish vessels to New Orleans and Key West, one of the insulated rocks belonging to the United States, off the coast of Florida, and had there effected collusive sales, after which the vessels returned to the Havana, to be despatched under American colours to the coast of Africa. In this way the Spanish schooner General Espartero had proceeded to Key West, and returned with American papers, as the Thomas of Havana, and a well-known Spanish slaver had gone to New Orleans as the Conchita, and had come back as the American schooner Encantadora. The British consul pointed out the illegality of these transfers by means of "*sea letters*," which, according to the act of Congress of 26th March 1810, were not issuable after the 30th of June of that year, and they therefore ought not to have been suffered to clear out as Americans by the Custom-house authorities of New Orleans and Key West.

In a subsequent despatch dated 27th February 1839, M. Tolmé directed Lord Palmerston's attention to the case of the American schooner Rebecca, which had arrived from Baltimore at the Havana, where she was privately sold; but her American register was not given up, so that she proceeded for Gallinas on the coast of Africa under the flag of the Union, the master being authorised to hoist Portuguese colours and produce his Portuguese papers at her place of destination, or at some in-

termediate port. He also stated on the authority of Mr. Crawford, the British consul at New Orleans, that the Nueva Amable Salome had gone there for a similar purpose, but was about to return to the Havana under her Spanish colours, in consequence of its having become known that Mr. Trist persisted in his refusal to clear out vessels under American colours unless duly registered. In making the purchase of an American vessel, the dealers were thus reduced to the necessity of stipulating, that the fact of the transfer should remain in abeyance until the risk of the passage to the Cape de Verds and from thence to the coast of Africa should have been passed, the original American captain remaining in command, to mislead and deceive the commanders of British cruisers, until the moment when, by receiving the cargo on board, he might be exposing himself to the pains of piracy imposed on actual slave-dealing by the laws of the Union.

From the returns of the British commissioners to the Foreign Office for 1838, it appears that no less than 19 American vessels engaged in the Cuba slave trade, and, protected by the American flag, had entered the single port of the Havana in that one year, independent of those who had escaped the commissioners' observation, leaving all the other ports of the island out of the account. It is reported also to Admiral Elliot by several of the commanders of cruisers under his orders, particularly by Lieutenant Kellett and Lieutenant Oliver, that Mr. Trist, the American consul, had

signed papers for notorious slavers as the *locum tenens* of the Portuguese consul. It is farther stated, that in an American-built vessel transferred to the Portuguese flag, but with a Spanish owner on board, there were found several printed forms, in the nature of passports, left blank as to names, dates, and other particulars, but, strange to say, bearing the signature of Mr. Trist, the American consul. This fact is so extraordinary, that I desire to quote as my authority the parliamentary papers for 1839, "Correspondence with Foreign Powers not Parties to Conventions, giving right of search of vessels suspected of the Slave Trade, class D. (further series)," page 26.

These facts have naturally been made the subject of complaint to the American government, and Mr. Fox is instructed to express to Mr. Forsyth the regret of her Majesty's government at hearing that American citizens and ships are engaged in Cuba in promoting that trade in slaves which, as Lord Palmerston courteously assumes, it is the object of the United States as well as of Great Britain to suppress; and Mr. Fox is to state the confidence of her Majesty's government that the United States government will take every step within their power for preventing such abuses of the flag of the Union. On the subject of the signing of papers and blank forms by the American consul, to be filled up at pleasure by the persons in command of those vessels, Lord Palmerston states that her Majesty's government are unwilling to believe that any functionary of the

United States would intentionally assist the traffic in question, but that in cases of this kind, mere carelessness leads nearly to the same result as actual connivance. In conclusion, his lordship requests that the consul may be cautioned to be more circumspect in future, and to exert all his vigilance to prevent slave traders from screening themselves under the protection of the American flag. I have not learned whether the government at Washington have taken fire at these friendly suggestions; but, as an interference with the execution of the laws of the Union, they throw the modest hints of the commissioners at the Havana completely into the shade.

In the correspondence of Commodore Sullivan, and other British officers, there are unfortunately not wanting many other instances of the grievous abuse of the American flag. Thus it is stated by Lieutenant Birch, of her Majesty's brig Wizard, that on the 16th of September, 1838, he had boarded, off Point St. Antonio, on the coast of Brazil, the Eagle of Baltimore, a two-topsail schooner of 210 tons under American colours, John Littig, master, with crew and passengers, in all twenty-one men, from the notorious slave-trading settlement of St. Thomas, on the line, in ballast. As her American papers were produced, the commander of the Wizard did not think himself warranted in searching her, although it was reported in Bahia, that she had landed slaves to the northward, and her appearance on boarding warranted the suspicion.

From one of the seamen of the Wizard, James

Fox, who had formerly sailed, according to his own confession, in an American slaver, called the Dido of Baltimore, on a voyage to the coast of Africa, a similar statement is obtained. The Dido had sailed from the Havana in March 1837, with an assorted cargo for the coast, and after calling for Portuguese papers at Bonavista in the Cape de Verds, had proceeded to the Bight of Benin, where she disposed of her outward cargo, went to Whyda for provisions, returned to Lagos in the Bight, where she embarked 575 negroes, 570 of whom she landed, having lost only five on the passage, at the village close to the point of Itapacau, in the immediate neighbourhood of Bahia. On making the sand hills to windward of the port, she discovered her Majesty's sloop Sparrow-hawk at anchor within; upon which the Dido hauled off, showing American colours abaft, and her distinguishing flag forward, which was immediately acknowledged from the village outside the bar. On the following morning, she made her appearance in Bahia, under the American flag. According to Fox's statement, the American master Phillips was there to take the command, whenever it was necessary to hoist the American colours; and the Portuguese supercargo Manuel took his place, when it was more convenient to show Portuguese colours. Besides the captain and supercargo, there was a second mate, also an American, a relation of Phillips, on board; an American mulatto; a Sicilian, since murdered at Bahia; a Norwegian; two Portuguese; and the Englishman, James Fox.

This man stated that he received $75 a month as wages, besides a bounty of $100 on the landing of the slaves.

The case of the Mary Lushing, of Baltimore, a schooner of 140 tons burden, is also reported by Lieutenant Birch as having been boarded by him while under American colours, off Bahia, on the 10th of November, 1838. Her master, Reynolds, an American, boldly volunteered to allow the boarding officer to inspect her between decks. Four leaguers, or water tanks, besides twenty ordinary water casks, and a quantity of loose plank were observed in her hold; and her range coppers were much larger than those generally used in merchant vessels; so that, had she belonged to any one of the countries whose governments have acceded to the French and Spanish treaties, she would clearly have been subject to condemnation, under the conditions of the equipment clause. It was well-known in Bahia, that she had been sold to parties at the Havana for the purpose of slaving, and that the former American master remained on board with the register, that she might still bear the flag of the Union, and secure the protection it afforded. From the Havana she went to Oney, in the river Lagos, for the purpose of taking in slaves; but being closely watched by one of her Majesty's cruisers, she sailed, after a stay of some weeks, and finally came to Bahia in ballast. There she was again taking in a general cargo, and was about to sail for the coast, when it was not doubted she would embark a cargo of slaves, on the first favour-

able opportunity. In that case the American master would leave her; and the mate, with the Spanish papers obtained at the Havana, would take his place. On the boarding officer making some allusion to the American colours, the master observed that these colours would not have been seen if any slaves had been on board.

Commander Reeve, of her Majesty's sloop Lily, reports to the Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, that he had captured a vessel called the Eagle, lying at Lagos under American colours, the entire crew of which were Spaniards, with the exception of a man calling himself both master and owner; and that, having sent her to Sierra Leone for adjudication, the courts of mixed commission had refused to decide, on the ground of its being set forth in the ship's papers produced, that the Eagle was an American. She had been sold at the Havana; the American vice-consul there had attested the sale, and had granted American papers.

It is further stated by Commander Reeve, that the day before he left Sierra Leone, a vessel under American colours, captured by the Termagant, had also arrived there, but she would of course, he says, be released. "No other flag," he adds, "will be seen on the coast in a short time, as it affords all the protection a slaver can require under the existing laws; and it would be useless for her Majesty's cruisers to be any longer employed for the suppression of the traffic."

Another vessel, the Mary Anne Cassard, under American colours, was boarded and seized by Lieu-

tenant Kellett, of her Majesty's brig Brisk, on the 27th of October, 1838, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. This vessel had been lately sold by Mr. Gilbert Cassard of Baltimore, to Messrs. Hernandez and Basden of Matanzas, in the island of Cuba, where she had received her cargo. At the time of the sale, her American register had been cancelled, and she had no American papers but the roll, which was signed by the United States consul at Matanzas. The crew were all Spaniards, with the exception of one man, the master, who represented himself to be a British subject, having formerly served on the African coast in her Majesty's brigantine Lynx, in which he was paid off. The admiral was of opinion, however, that this was a false pretence, and that he had originally passed himself as an Englishman in order to be received on board the Lynx ; but, at all events, he was unable to navigate any vessel, and had, no doubt, been engaged to personate the American captain, when boarded by a British man-of-war. Lieutenant Kellett did not doubt that the Mary Anne Cassard had Portuguese papers on board, as she had touched at Bonavista, and a Portuguese flag had been found in her. The captor announces his intention of lodging an information against the master of the prize, so as to have him committed for trial as a British subject engaged in the slave trade. On board the Brisk there was fortunately an armourer's mate who had formerly served in the Lynx, and had been the messmate of the master of this slaver from fifteen to eighteen months.

The case of the American schooner Mary Hooper is also brought under the admiral's notice by the same active officer. This vessel belonged to Philadelphia; Charles M. Bergstrand, of that city, having been at once the master and the owner. When last boarded by the Brisk, she was lying off Trade Town ready to receive a cargo of slaves. She had sailed from the Havana on the 28th of May, 1838, calling first at the Portuguese settlement of Port Praya to obtain fictitious papers, and afterwards proceeding to Gallinas, where she was consigned to a notorious slave dealer. If, on her arrival in the West Indies, she should meet an American ship of war, she would show her Portuguese papers, but to her Majesty's ships she would produce her American papers, which, in all probability, would be the means of her proving successful. On this occasion, also, Lieutenant Kellett states, that the American consul at the Havana had lent his assistance in clearing out the Mary Hooper.

The case of the Venus, referred to by the British commissioners in their correspondence with Mr. Trist, which effected her landing during my stay at the Havana, and whose cargo I had next day an opportunity of seeing in the public barracoons, is referred to by Captain Popham of her Majesty's sloop Pelican, in a letter to Admiral Elliot, dated 24th of December, 1838. . She is truly described as of the most improved model for swift sailing, and she is stated to have arrived at Lagos from Boston about the 5th of November, and to have again sailed for the Havana with a cargo of 1150 slaves,

so that nearly 300 must have perished on the voyage. Her American flag and papers, in possession of her American master, Mr. Philips of Baltimore, had protected her until within a few days of her leaving the coast, when Portuguese papers were ready, with a Portuguese flag and a Portuguese captain, to proceed on the return voyage. On the 28th of November, about 100 miles south of Lagos, the Venus was chased by the Pelican, who at first gained on her; but the Venus having been lightened by throwing her deck cargo and her spare spars overboard, she was able to sail away with ease, although the Pelican made every effort to come up with her. Two days afterwards, near the place where the chase had commenced, the Pelican picked up two spare topmasts, a topsail-yard, and main top-gallant mast, all of very large dimensions, quite new, and evidently not more than a day or two in the water. It appears, also, that the Venus had been repeatedly boarded by her Majesty's ship Dolphin, Lieutenant Holland, while lying at Lagos, but she was of course protected until her slaves were on board by the American colours.

Captain Popham states also the case of the schooner Ontario of Baltimore, as one of those numerous instances of abuse of the American flag. This vessel had been made over to a Spaniard at the Havana by an American citizen, Mr. Huntington, who was himself found on board the Portuguese schooner Magdalena off the coast of Africa at the time of her capture, with 320 slaves on board, by her Majesty's ship Pelican. The Ontario

had been boarded, when preparing to receive slaves, by the boats of her Majesty's ship Viper, but was, in like manner, protected from search by her American papers. In consequence of information obtained from the Portuguese commander of the Magdalena, Captain Popham proceeded in quest of the Ontario, and caught sight of her on the following day. On overhauling her, she was found to have 220 slaves on board, and was immediately captured. She was under Spanish colours, but had no papers whatever. The words "Ontario of Baltimore" were painted in large letters on her stern. Captain Popham further states, that were it not for the active co-operation of the Americans, the slave trade would very materially decline, or be carried on but feebly; for this he has the authority of the Spaniards and Portuguese slaving on the coast, independent of his own observation; and Captain Popham does not doubt that the citizens of the United States, particularly of Baltimore, are more deeply interested in the slave trade to Cuba and Brazil than is generally supposed. He was very much disposed to detain Mr. Huntington until he could receive orders as to the disposal of him from the admiral; but on a careful perusal of the correspondence between the governments of Great Britain and the United States on the subject of the slave trade, he saw no chance of bringing him to punishment, and therefore let him go.

Lieutenant Hall, of her Majesty's brig Bonetta, reports also to Admiral Elliot, that on his passage

to Accra with the prize crews of her Majesty's sloop Pelican, he had boarded, on the 23d January, 1839, a very fast, new, American Ballahor schooner, in ballast, evidently intended for the slave trade. The captain was a Frenchman, but declared himself to be a naturalised American citizen. His papers supported that pretence; but his crew were all Spaniards.

In support of these statements, Sir George Elliot also represents to the Admiralty that the American flag is coming rapidly into general use for the protection of Spanish slavers; and such is the impunity which attends the practice, that they no longer think it necessary to have an American citizen on board to personate the captain; but content themselves with furnishing one of the crew with a certificate of naturalisation for the occasion. If her Majesty's ships were at liberty to send some of these pretended Americans to the United States, and the government of that country were to uphold the honour of their flag, by subjecting such lawless felons to prosecution and punishment, it would soon put an end, the admiral justly observes, to the nefarious usurpation of American citizenship by the most notorious slave dealers belonging to Spain and Portugal. In another letter Sir George asks the Admiralty for instructions in the event of the capture of vessels under the American flag with slaves on board, what, in that case, he is to do with the man who passes for the American captain. He craves their lordships' early instructions on this growing evil and abuse,

which he is convinced is much too disgraceful to meet with any countenance, direct or indirect, from the government of the United States.

In bringing these matters before that government, our minister, Mr. Fox, is directed by Lord Palmerston, in a formal note to Mr. Forsyth, to express the anxious wish of her Majesty's government, that the government of the United States would either come to some conventional agreement with Great Britain upon the subject of the slave trade, so as to enable British cruisers to deal with these pretended American vessels, or else that it would send to the African station a sufficient number of United States cruisers to prevent this fraudulent use of the flag of the Union, as a cover and protection to practices which the laws of the United States have long since decreed to be piracy.

From the President's message to congress, at the opening of the session of 1840, it appears that the second branch of this alternative has been partially acceded to; but what good service can we expect against this modern Briareus, from one or two sloops of war, supposing their captains and crews to be animated by the best possible spirit? They are only authorised to act against their own countrymen, without the power to co-operate with the British cruisers they may find on the coast. Their visits are already provided for by the double papers, the double captains, and the double flag, which have just been described; so that he must be a very blundering slaver, indeed, who allows himself to be captured as an American.

In the case of the Portuguese schooner Prova, Francisco Jozá Dias, master, another class of American functionaries appears to be implicated in the charge of winking hard at slave trade practices. This vessel was condemned in the British and Portuguese court of mixed commission at Sierra Leone, on the 31st of July 1838, having been captured in the river Calabar by the boats of her Majesty's sloop Pylades, William Langford Castle, Esq., commanding, immediately after she had embarked a cargo of 225 slaves. This was one of the ordinary cases of slave traders owned and freighted at the Havana, but sailing under the Portuguese flag, and with Portuguese papers obtained at the Cape de Verde Islands. The water-casks and slave decks, denounced in the treaties with the naval powers of Europe as sufficient evidence of guilt, were cleared out as part of her lawful cargo. The pretence is, that these tanks and water casks are sent out to bring back a cargo of palm oil. This case led to a fresh negotiation at Madrid, which produced a royal order directing the custom-house authorities of Cuba not to issue certificates to vessels carrying such casks, without exacting a bond, which may be a security in case it should afterwards be proved that the prohibited articles were destined for illegal purposes. While on her outward voyage from the Havana to the coast of Africa, this vessel was driven into Charleston by damage sustained at sea and stress of weather, and was detained there for nearly three months, undergoing repairs. It is stated by the

commissioners at Sierra Leone, that the outward appearance of this vessel alone ought to have excited suspicion as to the real object of her voyage, and they very naturally express their surprise that, fitted and equipped as she was for the slave trade, with her leaguers, water tanks, and slave deck on board, while the attention of the authorities was drawn to the fact by their specification in the manifest, she should nevertheless have been permitted to clear out from an American port for the coast of Africa. In point of fact, she proceeded direct from Charleston to the river Calabar, where the capture took place.

There is one case on record, where a feeble effort to check these abuses was made by the American government. From its extreme rarity it deserves to be noticed. It elicited a formal message of thanks from her Majesty's government, which might well have put the authorities in Washington to the blush, without having seen the smile of quiet irony on the countenance of Lord Palmerston as he put his signature to the despatch containing it. This was the case of a schooner, the name of which is not reported, which had landed a cargo of slaves in the month of February 1838, in the neighbourhood of Matanzas. She had been sold to Spanish owners, and was to have been transferred to the Portuguese flag at the Cape de Verde Islands; but the master having died before the transfer was effected, and the crew not being sufficiently instructed, dispensed with the idle ceremony, altered their course, proceeded direct to

the coast of Africa, where they embarked the cargo prepared for them, and returned to the island of Cuba without any other flag or papers than those originally procured in the United States. These facts found their way through some indirect channel to Philadelphia, from whence orders were transmitted to the naval station at Pensacola in the Floridas, to make some inquiry on the subject. The United States schooner, Grampus, was in consequence directed to proceed to Matanzas, where it is said to have been found that there were none but Spaniards on board; a fact which put an end to the investigation, although not in itself a very satisfactory ground on which to justify the systematic abuse of the American flag.

If to diminish the profits of the slaver is to strike a heavy blow at the slave trade, and to extinguish the profits is to abolish the trade, it follows, *e converso*, that to lessen the slaver's charges is to enable him to carry on his trade with advantage. The American functionaries are not accused of charging fifteen per cent. commission, like the Portuguese functionaries, for the sanction they afford to fictitious transfers of registry. But their heedless practice of certifying to papers which they have not examined, and even of issuing *blank* certificates, has a much worse effect than if they charged a heavy commission and pocketed the money; since the payment of that very commission would operate as a serious discouragement, and like the last small addition to the camel's load, might break the back of the trade. Of this nature

is the practice, which is still on the increase, of shipping goods, and even articles of slaving equipment, for the coast of Africa in American vessels, not intended to be used as slavers, and from their form and construction not liable to suspicion, but still sailing both out and home under the American flag. On such risks insurance can be effected at the rate of two and a half per cent.; whereas, if the goods had been embarked in a Portuguese or Spanish bottom, the insurance of the outward voyage alone would have cost at least four times as much. The Rio underwriters charge much lower premiums on the home voyage than those of the Havana, which seems to prove that the Brazilian coast is not so well watched as that of Cuba.

The Portuguese authorities at the Cape de Verdes occasionally show some reluctance to give effect to the previous proceedings of the American consulate at the Havana. Of the ten vessels which cleared out and sailed from the port of St. Jago in these islands for the coast of Africa, in 1838, no less than five were Americans; three others were Spaniards, one Portuguese, and one Brazilian. To two of the American vessels, the Mary from Matanzas, and the James Webb from Havana, the Portuguese governor, Marinha, refused to grant the papers they came for, although the bill of sale and the list of the crew, in the case of the vessel from the Havana, had been prepared by Mr. Trist, the American consul; and it was only on the legality of the American papers obtained at the Havana being vouched for by Mr. Gardner, the American consul

at the Cape de Verdes, that the governor abstained from seizing the vessel. Nevertheless the James Webb sailed for the coast on the 20th of July, 1838, and it was supposed by the British consul that she must have had a Spanish set of papers on board. This refusal, therefore, on the part of the Portuguese governor, which probably arose from the unwillingness of the parties connected with the James Webb to pay the exorbitant fees demanded by Marinha, or from the governor's displeasure at finding himself in danger of losing such a profitable source of revenue by the cheap facilities afforded by American functionaries, exposed the vessel to a risk of capture to which she was not otherwise liable, between the date of her leaving St. Jago and that of her embarking her cargo. During the previous part of her voyage between the Havana and St. Jago, she was of course protected by her American papers.

The extent of these abuses on the coast of Cuba alone may be gathered from the fact reported by the British commissioners—that of seventy-one vessels engaged in the trade, in the year 1837, *eleven* were American; whereas in the following year, the number had increased to *nineteen*, and was likely to go on augmenting in a similar ratio, unless some strong measures were taken to repress it. It appears to be the Spaniards who are thus ostensibly retiring from business to make way for the Americans. In 1837, the seventy-one slavers engaged in the Cuba trade were, forty of them Portuguese, nineteen Spaniards, eleven Americans,

and one Swede. In 1838, the like number of seventy-one slavers consisted of forty-two Portuguese, nineteen Americans, eight Spaniards, one Frenchman, and one Brazilian.

I have entered into these details, not in any unfriendly spirit, but, on the contrary, in the hope that they may be taken up in America, where the facts may not be generally known; and that the government, and the congress, at Washington, may be compelled, by a pressure from without, to make a concession of the necessary powers on terms of the most perfect reciprocity, inferring no imputation on the national honour, and no impeachment of the national independence.

My fear, however, is, that the slave-holders of the south will be so wrong-headed as to imagine that their "peculiar institutions" might be endangered by such a concession; and in that case they will take the alarm, not for the national independence, but for their private right of property. They are already but too apt to follow the example of our English conservatives, risking all that is really worth contending for, in order to maintain some indefensible abuse. In the suppression of the slave trade they will see, or affect to see, the downfall of slavery itself in an island which is separated by so short an interval from their own hot-beds of slavery, and will say to themselves—

"Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."

It is the continuance of the slave trade, however, much more than its suppression, that is

likely to set their neighbour's house on fire, in more senses than one.

From the intercepted correspondence of the slave dealers we have discovered how apprehensive they are of insurrections on ship-board, and of the struggles of the poor African for the recovery of his freedom. When landed on the coast of Cuba or Brazil these fears are supposed to be ended, especially after the cargoes of several slavers, from different parts of Africa, have been mixed up in the barracoons. The fact that they are unable to understand each other's language is naturally regarded as a great additional security.

When the demand for negroes is greater than usual, and when a new estate is to be supplied out of a single cargo, this precaution becomes impracticable; and the planter, who has come to the great slave mart at the Havana from some distant district of the island, to form a new gang, or complete an old one, is compelled to supply himself with such a selection as the state of the market affords.

This appears to have been the case with Messrs. Ruiz and Montes, through whom the attention of the world has been so earnestly directed to the practices of the slave trade. From a single cargo of Congos they had purchased a supply of slaves at the Havana for their estates in the province of Puerto Principe, and had embarked them, after having been a month in the barracoons, on board a coasting vessel called the Amistad, for which purpose they had no doubt provided themselves

with a special passport "*ad hoc*," as a protection against the visits of the British cruisers on the coast.

Among this party of negroes there was one master spirit, Cingŭes by name, who, thinking slavery worse than death, had concerted measures with his fellow captives for the recovery of their freedom.* They fell on the captain and crew of the schooner, and threw the whole of them overboard, but spared the lives of the two purchasers, Ruiz and Montes, in order to compel them to steer the vessel towards the coast of Africa. The only idea they had of the line to be pursued was, that it must be towards the rising sun; but the Spaniards always contrived to defeat their design during the night, reversing the vessel's course, and losing at least all that had been gained during the day. The plan of Ruiz and Montes was to strand the vessel on the coast of the United States, where they hoped to find the means of protection for themselves and of recovering their lost dominion over their newly acquired slaves.

After pursuing this see-saw system for nearly two months, the Spaniards succeeded in their object; in which they were assisted by the necessity which had arisen for fresh supplies of water and provisions. Happily for the kidnapped Africans, and let us hope also for the whole negro race, the land they first reached was in the northern part of the

* Cingŭes is probably a young man; but "*fortem facit vicina libertas senem.*"

American Union, where some respect is paid to human rights. Had they been driven to seek refuge on the shores of one of the slave-holding states, we have the authority of the greatest slave dealers in Cuba for saying, that the Spaniards might have lost their property, indeed, by confiscation, but that the negroes would have been as far as ever from the recovery of their freedom.

They had scarcely reached the American shore, at a point which seems to have been close to the boundary of the state of New York, and the New England state of Connecticut, when the vessel was boarded by a certain Captain Gedney, who thought of nothing but the prize he had made, and the salvage to which he would be entitled. It was clearly his interest that the negroes should be regarded as the property of Ruiz and Montes; in which case the value of the windfall would be greatly increased. Fortunately, however, there was no ground for a claim of salvage at all, so that the adverse claim of Mr. Gedney was scouted from the outset.

In the meantime, the complexion of the poor Africans appears to have raised a presumption against their natural rights. If not guilty of man-stealing, Messrs. Ruiz and Montes were, at least, openly transgressing the laws of their own country, in carrying these "*Bozals*" into slavery. On the other hand, the negroes were accused of piracy, although the charge was contradicted by all the facts of the case; having paid or offered to pay

for whatever they had asked for. The Africans were nevertheless thrown into prison, while the Spaniards were left at liberty.

They lost no time in seeking for legal assistance, but here they met the Africans on equal ground; for as soon as the case was heard of, the friends of their race took care to retain the best advice which the bars of New York or Connecticut could afford.

In another quarter the Spaniards were more successful. Through the minister of Her Catholic Majesty at Washington, they demanded of the government of the United States that the negroes should be recognised as their property. Such a recognition was fortunately not in the power of the executive government; but I regret to perceive that a decided leaning has been shown towards the pretended right of property, and that the government have done all in their power to maintain it, by sending down their district attorney to file a libel, as it is called, on behalf of the federal government.

This measure, if successful, would place the negroes at the disposal of the executive, who would be justified by a memorable precedent in the history of the Union for delivering up the gallant Cingŭes and his companions to the Spanish minister.

On the 17th of September, 1839, the case was brought by *habeas corpus* before the court of the United States, which sits at Hartford for the district of Connecticut, when it was decided by Judge Judson that the negroes were only held in custody

under the application of the district attorney on behalf of the United States, consequent upon the demand of the Spanish minister.

It appears that in making their purchase, Messrs. Ruiz and Montes had added a little boy and three little girls to their assortment; and as these children could not reasonably be accused of piracy or murder, of running away with the ship, or throwing the crew and captain overboard, it was thought by their counsel that the naked question of property on the one side, or freedom on the other, might be tried in their case with a better chance of success. A separate writ was sued out in their behalf, but when the question came to be argued before a superior tribunal, the circuit court of the United States, sitting two days afterwards at Hartford, in which Judge Thompson of the supreme court presided, the plea on behalf of the children was overruled, on the ground that they must remain in custody, not as principals certainly, but as witnesses in a future criminal trial.

If Cingŭes and his companions have infringed any law in the course of their struggle for freedom, it can scarcely be contended that the courts of the United States can have any cognisance of it. When they seized on the Amistad, they were sailing under the Spanish flag in a Spanish vessel, owned by Spaniards, protected by Spanish papers, and making a voyage from one port to another of a Spanish island. Neither the law of nations nor the code of the United States has in any way been infringed, and there does not seem, therefore, to

have been any intelligible pretence for their detention.

The protection of the writ of *habeas corpus* was nevertheless refused. In his final decision on this point, Judge Thompson, after four days' consideration, appears to have departed from the ground he originally took, that the infant Africans were held in custody as witnesses against their countrymen on some future charge of piracy and murder. Unwilling to part with them on any terms, Judge Thompson decided that the court, although it had no criminal jurisdiction, must still deprive the whole of them of their liberty, until it was decided whether they were men or merchandise, chattels or human beings.

This is the first occasion since the declaration of American independence that the efficacy of the writ of *habeas corpus* has been tried for the protection of an African's freedom. It is not, I hope, to be doubted that the case would have been otherwise decided had the Amistad been thrown on the shores of any British territory, on those islands even where the right of property in human flesh has but lately been abandoned.

At the expense of the individuals thus held in captivity, the protracted discussion of their rights can have no result but what will ultimately be favourable to their much injured race, and to the outraged laws of humanity. Judge Thompson undertakes to show that slavery is sanctioned by the American constitution, in the face of the declaration that all men are born free and equal. As

far as it has yet proceeded, this case is not very creditable to the supreme court of the Union. It has gone off on a question of local jurisdiction between the district courts of Connecticut and New York, and in the meantime the Africans remain in prison. In whatever way it may ultimately be decided, Mr. Tappan and his friends, who have already done so much for the African race, will never suffer these poor people to be carried out of the country as slaves. These much honoured philanthropists may have another opportunity of proving that the whole human family do not thus prey on each other: "*Homo homini aut deus aut dæmon.*" Besides, after a long stay, even in a prison of New England, these Congos would scarcely be welcome among their countrymen in Cuba; and it may therefore be taken for granted, that Messrs. Ruiz and Montes, if they had their option, would greatly prefer taking back the hard dollars.

CHAP. XXII.

HISTORICAL NOTICES, A. D. 1492—1761.

ACCORDING to the best authorities, the island of Cuba was discovered by Christopher Columbus on the 28th of October, 1492. On that day he landed in the bay formed by the mouth of the river Nisse, to which he gave the name of San Salvador, and to the whole island that of Juana, in honour of Prince John, the son of the Catholic Kings, — LOS REYES CATOLICOS,—as Ferdinand and Isabella delighted to call themselves. After the death of King Ferdinand, the island received the name of Fernandina. The name of Santiago was afterwards given to it in honour of the patron saint of the kingdom, and still later that of Ave Maria, to signalise the devotion of the inhabitants for the Virgin. In spite of all these changes, however, it bears at this day the same Indian name by which it was known to the original inhabitants at the time of its discovery. Some Spanish geographers, from the roughness of its coasts and its form on the map, continue to call it *La Lengua de Pajaro*, the Bird's or Sparrow's Tongue.

Pursuing his investigations towards the west, Columbus arrived on the 31st at the point of Maternillos, having previously entered the bay of Nue-

vitas which he called El Puerto de Mares, and to which he returned for the purpose of careening his ships. During this delay, he conceived the idea of paying his respects to the Cacique of the territory, and of offering him presents in the name of the Catholic Kings. The residence of this Cacique is said to have been on the same spot which now forms the site of the city of Puerto Principe. Having first sent Rodriguez de Jerez and Luis de Torres to visit the Cacique, Columbus was informed by them on their return that the town contained about fifty houses and 1000 inhabitants; so that each house must have sufficed for the accommodation of some twenty individuals. They had been exceedingly well received by the Cacique, and their description of the country, the abundance of yams, garbanzos, and Indian corn, of excellent fruit and wild cotton, was such as to convey a very favourable impression of the richness of the soil, and to excite the cupidity of the discoverers. The inhabitants were described as taking their rest suspended in the air in an extraordinary fashion, and while walking abroad they had constantly a pipe in one hand and some dried leaves in the other, of which they made a most immoderate use. On the 12th of November they returned towards the east, carefully examining all the coast and visiting the ports of Tanamo, Cayo de Moa, and Baracoa. It was there that they met with the only indigenous quadruped ever known in the island, called the Jutia or Hutia, which is described to have been in general from twelve to eighteen inches in length exclusive

of the tail; that its colour was a clear black; that its food consisted of leaves and fruits; that its habitat was in the hollows or between the branches of trees; that in general appearance it resembled a rat; and that its flesh was the most insipid the discoverers had ever tasted. Here they met also with pine trees of great size and the largest town they had yet seen, to the name of which they added the epithet *Santo*.

After this first discovery, Columbus did not return to the island till the 4th of April, 1494, when he took his departure from the port of Isabella, in the island of St. Domingo, for the purpose of revisiting Cuba. On this occasion he sailed down the south side of the island, as far as the Isle of Pines, which he called the *Evangelist*, and visited the port of Guantanamo, distinguishing Cape Cruz and the neighbouring rocks, to which he gave the name of *Jardines de la Reyna*. At this place the dangerous appearance of the coast compelled him to abandon his course of discovery; so that he left it once more, believing it still to be the *tierra firme* of a new continent. In 1502, on the occasion of his fourth and last voyage, he visited the whole of the southern side of the island, and from Cape Cruz took his final departure for Jamaica.

Nothing further took place to promote the examination till the year 1508, when an order arrived from the king of Spain to the *Comendador*, Nicolas Obando, the governor of the island of St. Domingo, to prosecute the investigation. To this duty Obando appointed Sebastian Ocampo, who circum-

navigated the new discovery, and so for the first time ascertained it to be an island. He strongly recommended it as fit for colonisation, from the fertility of its soil and the goodness of its harbours, especially that of the Havana, which he called *El Puerto de Careñas*, from the fact of his having there repaired his vessels and paid them with a sort of mineral pitch, or *petroleum*, which doubtless consisted of the bituminous exudations of the extensive coal formation elsewhere alluded to as having recently been discovered in that neighbourhood. In spite, however, of this flattering description of Ocampo, the idea of occupying or colonising the island was abandoned, or at least suspended, till the year 1511, when Diego Columbus, then the governor of St. Domingo, appointed an expedition to this effect consisting of more than 300 men, and gave the command of it to Diego Velasques, one of the companions of his father in his second voyage, and a person who enjoyed the highest reputation. Velasques disembarked in the port of Palmas near the point of Mayzi, but his landing was opposed by the Cacique Hatŭei, who had taken refuge there from St. Domingo, and endeavoured to excite the alarm of the inhabitants as to the intentions of the intruders; but his forces were beaten, and himself and his people taken prisoners.

The town of Baracoa, which was called *de la Asumpcion*, was the first that was founded, and was for some time considered the capital, until, in the year 1514, the whole of it had been

overrun and examined. In that year, the towns of Santiago and Trinidad, on the southern side, were founded for the purpose of facilitating the communications of the new colonists with the Spanish inhabitants of Jamaica. Near the centre of the island also were established soon after this period the towns of Bayamo, Puerto Principe, and Santi-Espiritus, and that of Baracoa was considerably enlarged. In the sequel, as there was no town towards the north, that of San Juan de los Remedios was founded; and on the 25th of July, 1515, at the place now called Batabano, on the south side of the island, was planted a town with the name of San Cristobal de la Habana, in deference to the memory of the illustrious discoverer; but in the year 1519 this name was transferred to the place where the capital now stands. The leaning of the Spaniards towards the southern side of the island appears to have arisen from their previous possession of Jamaica and the Costa Firme; as till then they had no idea of the existence of the Floridas or of New Spain; the expedition for the conquest of which, as well as the steps towards their first discovery, having been taken from the island of Cuba.

It was not long after the Spaniards had taken possession of the island that the Church, under the pontificate of Leo X., extended its then powerful arm to seize its share of the promised wealth of the Queen of the Indies. In 1518 a cathedral, dedicated *á la Asuncion de Maria Santissima*,

was erected at Baracoa, and the island of Jamaica was declared to form a part of the bishopric, while the diocese itself was to be the suffragan, of St. Domingo. Four years afterwards, by virtue of a bull of Adrian VI., the see was transferred to Santiago de Cuba, where a second cathedral was erected, under the eye of Dr. White, the first diocesan, to whom the bull was directed. At this early period, when the whole population was still so limited, it was thought necessary to create no less than six dignitaries, ten canons, six prebendaries, three sub-prebendaries, six chaplains, six acolytes, and other subordinate functionaries. In the other peopled spots already raised to the dignity of cities, there were, also, established stipendiary clergymen, *beneficios curados*, and other local functionaries connected with the church.

With regard to the character of the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, it is universally admitted by all the Spanish authors who have written on the subject, that they were disinterested and docile, gentle and generous, and that they received the first discoverer, as well as the conquerors, who followed in his track, with the most marked attention and courtesy. At the same time they are represented as being entirely given up to the enjoyment of those personal indulgences, and all the listlessness and love of ease, which the climate is supposed to provoke, and which is said to have amounted in the eyes of their European conquerors to positive cowardice and pusillanimity. They seldom spoke until first addressed by the

strangers, and then with perfect modesty and respect. Their hospitality was unbounded; but they were unwilling to expose themselves to any personal fatigue beyond what was strictly necessary for their subsistence. The cultivation of the soil was confined, as Columbus had observed, to the raising of yams, garbanzos, and maize or Indian corn, but as huntsmen and fishermen they were exceedingly expert. Their habiliments were on the most limited scale, and their laws and manners sanctioned the practice of polygamy. The use of iron was totally unknown to them, but they supplied the want of it with pointed shells, in constructing their weapons, and in fashioning their implements for fishing and the chase. Their almost total want of quadrupeds has already been noticed.

Although the island was divided into nine principalities, under nine different Caciques, all independent of each other, yet such was the pacific disposition of the inhabitants, that the most perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the island at the time of the arrival of the invaders. The several governments were administered in the simplest form, the will of the Cacique being received as law by his subjects, and the age he had attained being in general the measure of his influence and authority, and of the reverence and respect with which he was treated. Their religion was limited to a belief in the immortality of the soul, and to the existence of a beneficent Deity — *un Dios remunerador*. But their priests were cunning, super-

stitious, or fanatic, pretending to intelligence with malignant spirits, and maintaining their influence over the people by working on their fears, and practising the grossest and most ridiculous extravagances. No sanguinary sacrifices were resorted to, however; still less could the gentle race be chargeable with the horrid practices of the savage anthropophagi; and, according to the earliest Spanish authorities, they distinguished themselves beyond any other Indian nation, by the readiness and docility with which they received the doctrines of Christianity.

The town of Baracoa having first been raised to the dignity of a city and a bishopric, was declared the capital of the island in 1518, and remained so till 1522, when both were transferred to Santiago de Cuba. In 1538 the Havana, second city of the name, was surprised by a French privateer, who reduced it to ashes. This misfortune brought the Governor of the island, Hernando de Soto, to the spot, who lost no time in laying the foundation of the *Castillo de la Fuerza*, one of the numerous fortresses which still exist for the defence of the city. With this protection, combined with the advantageous geographical position of the harbour, the ships already passing, charged with the riches of New Spain, on their way to the Peninsula, were induced to call there for supplies of water and provisions. In this way the Havana began to rise in importance by insensible degrees, in so much that in 1549, on the arrival of a new Governor, Gonzalez Perez de Angulo, he resolved on making it his place of re-

sidence. His example was followed by subsequent governors, and in this way the city, although without any royal or legal sanction, came to be silently regarded as the capital of the island, until in 1589 it was formally declared so by the peninsular government, at the time of the nomination of the first Captain-General, *El Maestre de Campo*, Juan de Tejada, who was positively directed to take up his residence at the Havana.

In the annals of the island the names of the first governors and of their lieutenants have not been recorded with a degree of accuracy that can be altogether depended on. All that is known with certainty is, that the early chiefs resided at Santiago de Cuba, from its being the place where the largest population was collected, from its proximity to Jamaica and St. Domingo, and from its being the seat of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For the Havana and other towns of inferior importance, lieutenants were appointed. This system continued until the year 1538, when Hernando de Soto, who to the rank of *Adelantado* of the Floridas added the office of Governor of Cuba, having arrived at Santiago, passed a few days there, and then proceeded to the continent. In his absence he left the government of the island in the hands of a lady, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, and gave her for a colleague Don Juan de Rojas. This Rojas had previously resided at the Havana, in quality of Lieutenant-Governor; and it is from this date that the gradual transference of the seat of power from Santiago to the Havana may be said to have

arisen. It was not till the year 1607 that the island was divided into two separate governments.

In 1545, Don Juan de Avila assumed the government, and to him in 1547 succeeded Don Antonio de Chavez, to whom the Havana is indebted for its first regular supply of water, bringing it from the river called by the aborigines Casiguaguas, and by the Spaniards Chorrera, a distance of two leagues from the city. At that period the trade of the place was limited. The largest and wealthiest proprietors were mere breeders of cattle; as yet agriculture was very little attended to, and any actual labour performed consisted in exploring the neighbourhood in pursuit of the precious metals.

To this governor succeeded Dr. Gonzalo Perez de Angulo, who, according to the historian Urrutia, was the first who resided at the Havana during the greater part of his administration. At this period the number of cattle and the practice of agriculture had so much increased that the expeditions from the neighbouring continent obtained their supplies at the Havana, and from thence also large quantities of provisions were sent to the *Terra Firma*. For some time large profits were made by means of these exports, more especially in the sale of horses for the troops; but the continental settlements, having at length been able to provide for themselves, this source of profit was dried up.

In the year 1554 the government was assumed by Don Diego de Mazariegos, and, during his administration, the Havana was again attacked and

reduced to ashes by the French, notwithstanding the protection supposed to be afforded by the Castillo de la Fuerza. The other towns of the island were also insulted, insomuch that the bishop of the diocese was compelled to leave Santiago and take up his residence at Bayamo, causing a serious misunderstanding between the ecclesiastical authorities and the civil governor.

To Mazariegos in 1565 succeeded Garcia Osorio, and to Osorio, two years afterwards, Don Pedro Melendez de Avilez, who at the same time held the office of *Adelantado* of the Floridas, administering the affairs of the island for a number of years by means of a series of lieutenant-governors. At this period, the hospital of San Juan de Dios, and a church dedicated to San Cristobal, were erected at the Havana. This church was built on the spot now occupied by the residence of the Captain-General. Don Gabriel Montalvo was the successor of Melendez, and assumed the government in 1576. In his time the Franciscan convent was erected, in spite of the opposition of the Bishop; and preparations were made, by the building of suitable vessels, for the extirpation of the pirates by whom the coasts of the island were infested. Don Francisco Carreño, the successor of Montalvo, assumed the command in 1578. In his time the weights and measures of the island were regulated; and vast quantities of timber were shipped to the mother-country, to contribute towards the construction of the convent and palace of the Escorial.

During the administration of Don Gaspar de Torres, the successor of Carreño, who arrived in 1580, not only Cuba, but the neighbouring islands of Jamaica and St. Domingo were more than ever annoyed by piratical incursions. The expense occasioned by the attempts to suppress them was so great, that it became necessary to impose a special tax, called *la sisa de piragua*, to cover it.

At this period was begun the cultivation of tobacco and the sugar-cane, the labour of which was found to be too great for the indolent aborigines, whose numbers had already been materially diminished by the state of slavery to which they had been reduced. It was to promote the production of these new luxuries, that a royal licence was first obtained for importing negroes from the coast of Africa.

The continued presence and increasing numbers of the pirates began to give a factitious importance to the Castillanos of the fortress, which protected the harbour of the Havana and sheltered the *lanchas* and *piraguas* and the *guardacostas* themselves. A military power thus insensibly arose, which, coming into collision with that of the civil governor, caused a great deal of disturbance and confusion. The next Governor, Don Gabriel de Lujan, who arrived in 1584, came to such a serious rupture with Don Diego Fernandez de Quinones, the Castillano de la Fuerza, that the Real Audiencia of the district, at the instigation of Quinones, took it upon them to suspend Don Gabriel from his administration of the government, but some time

afterwards restored him. On the application of the *Ayuntamiento*, the two offices were afterwards combined and vested in the same individual. During Lujan's administration, several hostile demonstrations were made against the island; but none of them were seriously prosecuted. The attacks of a diminutive enemy, the ant, became so alarming, however, that it was thought necessary by the Cabildo, or chapter of the diocese, to elect a new patron saint, and to confer that dignity on San Marcial, the Bishop agreeing to celebrate his fiesta, and keep his day yearly, on the condition of his interceding for the extermination of the hormigas and vivijaguas.

The successor of Lujan, Don Juan de Tejada, was the first Governor who arrived with the rank of Captain-General, in which was included the same powers and jurisdiction enjoyed by the *vireyes* of the continental possessions of the Crown. Tejada was directed to commence the construction of the two fortresses now known as the Morro and the Punta, and for this purpose brought with him the Engineer Don Juan Bautista Antoneli; and he was authorised to negotiate with the provinces of New Spain for obtaining contributions, by which to support the garrison, which at that time was limited for all the three fortresses to 300 men. After the building of the Morro was begun, it is said that Antoneli having ascended the heights of the Cabaña, remarked to those about him, that from that point the city and the Morro itself

would be commanded. This opinion having been communicated to the government, the construction of the present fortress of the Cabañas was immediately determined on. During Tejada's government the Havana received the title of *Ciudad;* the ayuntamiento was increased to the number of twelve regidores; and a coat of arms was given to it by Philip the Second, bearing on a blue field three castles *argent*, in allusion to the Fuerza, the Morro, and the Punta, and a golden key to signify that it was the key of the Indies; the whole surmounted by a crown.

Tejada was succeeded as Captain-General in 1602 by Don Pedro Valdes, who made strong representations to the court on the subject of the excesses committed by the pirates, by whose incursions Santiago had been almost depopulated. The Bishop, on returning there from Bayamo on a temporary visit, was seized, tied, stripped, and carried off by the pirate Giron, and detained for eighty days on board his vessel, until he was ransomed by the payment of 200 ducats and five arrobas of beef by Don Gregorio Ramos, who, after rescuing the Bishop, succeeded in destroying the pirate. From the insecurity of Santiago, this Bishop attempted, but without success, to establish his cathedral at the Havana. The supreme government, however, to stay the progress of depopulation at Santiago, resolved on establishing there a subordinate governor with the rank of *Capitan a Guerra*, and appointed to the office Don Juan de Villaverde, the Castellano of the Morro, who was

charged with the defence of his new jurisdiction against the pirates.

The successor of Valdes was Don Gaspar Ruiz de Pereda in 1608; and that of Pereda in 1616 was Don Sancho de Alquiza. This last had been previously the Governor of Venezuela and Guiana, and he is recorded to have applied himself with energy to the working of the copper mines at Cobre in the neighbourhood of Santiago; the superintendence of which was for some time annexed to the office of Captain-General of the Havana, although it was afterwards transferred to the Lieutenant-Governor at Santiago. The annual produce of that period was about 2000 quintals, and the copper extracted is represented to have been of a quality superior to anything then known in the founderies of Europe. Alquiza died after having enjoyed his office only two years; and by a provision of the Real Audiencia, he was succeeded in the temporary command by Geronimo de Quero, the Castellaño of the Morro, whose military rank was that of *Sargento Mayor*. From this period till the year 1715 it appears that, in the nomination of captains-general, a declaration was constantly introduced to the effect that the Castellaños of the Morro, on the death of the Captain-General, should succeed to the military command of the island; but since the year 1715 an officer has been specially named with the rank of *Teniente Rey* or *Cabo-Subalterno*, whose functions acquire an active character only on the death or incapacity of his chief.

Doctor Damian Velasquez de Contreras succeeded Alquiza in 1620, and Don Lorenzo de Cabrera, the next Captain-General, was appointed to the command in 1626. A charge was brought against Cabrera, that he had sold a cargo of negroes in the Havana without a royal licence; which being backed by other complaints, the Licenciado Don Francisco de Prada was sent out to inquire into them, and by him the Captain-General was sent home to the Peninsula, when de Prada assumed the civil and political jurisdiction and assigned the military command to Don Cristobal de Aranda, the Alcaide of the Morro. During the joint administration of de Prada and Aranda it was resolved to shut up the entrance of the harbour by means of a chain drawn across it, a resolution which is described by the historians of the period as having been exceedingly extravagant and absurd.

The next Captain-General was Don Juan Bitrian de Viamonte, who began his administration in 1630, and projected the construction of two strong towers, the one in Chorrera, and the other in Cojimar, but the plan was not carried into effect until the year 1646. At this period a certain good woman, known by the name of Magdalena de Jesus, established a sort of female sanctuary called a *Beaterio*, which gave rise to the establishment of the first female monastery of Santa Clara.

Fears of an invasion of the island by the Dutch now began to be entertained in the Peninsula; and as Viamonte's health was infirm, he was removed to the presidency of St. Domingo; and, in 1634,

Don Francisco Riaño y Gamboa was sent out to replace him. Gamboa introduced important reforms in the collection of the revenue. He established a court of accounts at the Havana, to which was afterwards referred the examination of all public disbursements, not only for the island of Cuba, but for Porto Rico, the Floridas, and that portion of the Spanish navy called the windward fleet, *la Armada de Barlovento*. At first, a single accountant-general was named; but a second was afterwards added, with instructions to visit alternately the various parts where the colonial revenue was collected or disbursed. During the government of Gamboa, also, a Commissioner of the Inquisition came from Carthagena to reside in the Havana; to provide for whose support one of the canons of the cathedral of Santiago was suppressed. The bishops had for some time acquired a taste for residing in the capital, and other members of the ecclesiastical Cabildo began to follow their example, soon degenerating into an abuse which loudly called for a remedy.

The successor of Gamboa was Don Alvaro di Luna y Sarmiento, who commenced his administration in 1639, and in the course of it completed the castle of Chorrera, two leagues to leeward of the Havana, and the Torreon de Cojimar, one league to windward.

In 1647, Sarmiento was succeeded by Don Diego de Villalva y Toledo, who, in 1650, was replaced by Don Francisco Gelder. During Gelder's administration, the establishment of the Common-

wealth in England gave rise to serious apprehensions for the safety of the Spanish possessions in America; especially when it became known, that, in 1655, a squadron had sailed by order of the Protector, the ostensible object of which was the reconciliation of the English colonies to the new form of government, but with the real design of capturing Jamaica. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this design was successfully executed; that the Spanish defenders of Jamaica were dispersed, and the Governor killed, and that many of the inhabitants removed in consequence to Cuba. An attempt on the Havana was also made by this expedition, but the assailants were successfully resisted. The failure is ascribed by the Spaniards to a sort of miracle performed in their favour. The invaders having landed on a very dark night, they became so terrified, according to the Spanish authorities, by the noise of the land-crabs and the flitting light of the fire-flies, which they took for an enemy in ambuscade, that they fled to their ships in the utmost disorder and confusion.

The next Captain-General was Don Juan Montaño, who arrived in 1656. During his time the Spaniards of Jamaica continued to defend themselves under two distinguished Hacendados, Don Francisco Proenza, and Don Cristobal de Isasi; who, for their exertions in preserving the island to the Spanish Crown, received thanks and honours from the court. Orders were also sent out to the other Spanish settlements in America to lend their assistance to the Jamaica loyalists; and a strong

expedition was prepared in the Peninsula, having the same object in view. In the end, however, in consequence of the sickness which prevailed on board the ships, the expedition. never sailed, and the Spaniards were compelled to evacuate the island.

Montaño having died within a year after his arrival, was succeeded in the command, in 1658, by Don Juan de Salamanca, in whose time the incursions of the pirates became more troublesome than ever, on all the coasts of Spanish America. As many of them had the audacity to sail under the flags of France and England, the court of Spain addressed itself to these governments on the subject, and received for answer that, having no countenance or authority from either, the Spaniards were at liberty to deal with them as they thought fit. At this period the French, having established themselves in the island of Tortuga, began from thence by slow degrees, first on hunting parties, and afterwards more permanently, to make encroachments on the neighbouring coast of the island of St. Domingo; until, in the end, they had completely taken possession of the western part of it, and created there a respectable colony. According to the Spanish authorities, the French colonists of St. Domingo formed an alliance with the English in Jamaica, and, without the sanction of either of their governments in Europe, made piratical incursions in the Spanish territories, and at length became so formidable, that the Spaniards found it necessary to

fortify their possessions, and to combine together for their mutual protection. The most remarkable of these piratical leaders was the Frenchman Lolonois and the celebrated Morgan.

In 1663, arrived as Captain-General Don Rodrigo de Flores y Aldana, who in the following year was relieved by Don Francisco Orejon y Gaston, previously Governor of Gibraltar and Venezuela. Fearing the neighbourhood of the English in Jamaica, Gaston applied himself to the construction of the walls of the Havana; and to meet the expense he was authorised to levy half a real on each quarter of an arroba of wine, nearly equal to a gallon, which might be sold in the city; but this having given rise to complaints, the Spanish government by a royal cedula directed that $20,000 a year should be raised for the purpose in Mexico; and that as much more should be procured as the Captain-General could extract by other means from the inhabitants of the Havana.

The next Governor was Don Rodriguez de Ledesma, who assumed his functions in 1670, and prosecuted the work of fortification with the greatest ardour. He also prepared a naval armament for the protection of the coast. It was at this time that the working of the copper mines near Santiago was abandoned, and that the reconstruction of the cathedral in that city was begun; but the greater part of the slaves employed in the mines were sent to the Havana to work on the fortifications. During Ledesma's administration, a French party landed in the eastern part of the

island, to the number of 800, under the command of one Franquinay, with the intention of plundering the city of Santiago, but they withdrew without doing any damage, alarmed, according to the Spanish accounts, by hearing the mere cry of "*al arma.*" In 1675 the city of Santiago was destroyed by an earthquake, a calamity from which the Havana and the western parts of the island appear to be exempt. Ledesma complained bitterly to his government that the English authorities in Jamaica countenanced and encouraged the attacks of the pirates, and applied for leave to make reprisals. He was succeeded by Don Jose Fernandez de Cordoba Ponce de Leon, who began his administration in 1680, and continued the work of fortification with energy.

In 1687 Ponce de Leon was replaced by Don Diego de Viana é Hinojosa, and to him in 1689 succeeded Don Severino de Manzaneda y Salinas, during whose administration the city of Matanzas was founded, the first lines of it having been traced on the 10th of October 1693, in presence of the Captain-General, and many other persons of distinction. The etymology of the name Matanzas is much disputed by the antiquarians of Cuba, some ascribing it to the slaughter of Indians at the time of the conquest of the island, contending that the supposed Indian name Yumuri, that of one of the two rivers between which the city stands, is in fact a synonym in bad Spanish for this general massacre. Others contend, with equal pertinacity, that it was the natives who

killed the Spaniards, while passing from one side of the bay to the other, having mutinied against their masters and used their oars successfully as weapons of offence. Seven of the Spaniards are said to have attempted to escape, but were carried prisoners to a neighbouring Indian town, where they were all put to death except one, who escaped to tell the tale of the *Matanza.*

The next Captain-General was Don Diego de Cordoba Lazo de la Vega; to him in 1702 succeeded Don Pedro Nicolas Benitez de Lugo, who died soon after his arrival. The next Captain-General was Don Pedro Alvarez de Villarin, who arrived in 1706 and died the same year. After him in 1708 came the Marques de Casa Torres, ex-Governor of the Floridas, who having had some dispute with the auditor Don Jose Fernandez de Cordoba, was suspended from his office by the Real Audiencia.

The foundling hospital, or *Casa de Niños Esposítos*, vulgarly called *La Cuña*, was founded in 1711 by Don Fray Jeronimo de Valdes, an institution which still exists, and, like that of St. Pierre in the island of Martinique, is only resorted to by the white inhabitants, the presentation of a coloured infant being a thing unknown. This fact, whether it arise from the sense of shame being stronger in the white mother, or from natural affection being stronger in the coloured mother, is not unworthy of investigation.

Don Vicente Raja arrived as Captain-General

in the year 1716, bringing with him a royal *cedula*, declaring that in the event of his absence, illness, or death, the civil and military government should be transferred to the Teniente Rey; in case of his absence, illness, or death, to the Castellaño del Morro; and failing the Castellaño, to the sergeant-major of the garrison; and failing him, to the senior captain of infantry, so as that in no case the civil and military jurisdictions should ever afterwards be divided. This prudent arrangement is not always followed in the British colonies; and the dissensions which arise in consequence are often, it is well known, exceedingly prejudicial to the service.

In the following year Raja returned to Spain, and in 1718 Don Gregorio Guazo arrived as his successor. Nothing material occurred during his administration, and he was replaced in 1724 by Don Dionisio Martinez de la Vega. In his time a serious difference arose on the occasion of an appointment to the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Santiago. On the 10th of May, 1728, Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan del Hoyo took possession of the local government, and a few months afterwards a royal *cedula* arrived prohibiting his admission. On this the Captain-General required his removal; but the Ayuntamiento opposed it, saying it was one thing to remove an officer, and another not to admit him. Lawyers were consulted on the point; and the court of chancery of the district was referred to, who decided that the Ayuntamiento

were in the right, and the Captain-General in the wrong. At this juncture the windward fleet, *la Armado de Barlovento*, arrived under the command of Don Antonio de Escudero, who, in his zeal for the royal service, and without any authority but that of force, laid hold of Del Hoyo, removed him from his employment, and carried him off to Vera Cruz. No sooner had he regained his liberty than he returned to the island; and having visited the town of Puerto Principe, which at that time formed part of his jurisdiction, the people rose against him, and having once more made him prisoner, sent him in irons to the Havana, from whence the Captain-General had him carried to Madrid.

The next Captain-General was Don Juan Francisco Guemes y Horcasitas, who arrived in the year 1734, and to him, in 1746, succeeded Don Juan Antonio Tineo y Fuertes, who died in the following year. He was the first Captain-General who thought it necessary to establish a separate hospital for the reception of dissolute and incorrigible women; for which purpose the revenues of vacant ecclesiastical offices were to be applied. The date of the termination of the government of Martinez has not been very clearly defined: he was succeeded provisionally by Don Diego de Peñalosa, as *Teniente Rey de la Plaza*, and was replaced in 1747 by Don Francisco Cagigal de la Vega, who had previously been Lieutenant-Governor at Santiago. On leaving the command in 1760, the government was assumed provisionally

by the Teniente Rey Don Pedro Alonzo; and he was relieved, in 1761, by Don Juan de Prado Porto Carrero, whose government was made so memorable by the capture of the city by the English.

CHAP. XXIII.

LORD ALBEMARLE'S EXPEDITION.

In this brief historical notice of the island, the celebrated expedition of Lord Albemarle, at the commencement of the reign of George III., and towards the close of the seven years' war, deserves to occupy a prominent place. The Habaneros themselves seem desirous to commemorate the event by retaining English names for the points of the coast where the landing of the expedition was effected, and for the fortresses which were occupied preparatory to the descent on the Morro. In the Memorias de la Real Sociedad Patriotica there are also some interesting notices of the event, of which I willingly avail myself in the following summary.

The Captain-General, according to some accounts, was apprised of the fact that the English were preparing an expedition for the invasion of the island; but although he had made certain arrangements for the reception of the enemy, it is said that he never seriously believed that an invasion was about to take place. He made it his business, however, to ascertain what number of men might be relied on for the defence of the island; and even the proportion of slaves to whom arms might be safely entrusted. Juntas were

frequently assembled for the discussion of these matters during the three months which intervened between the first rumour of the invasion and the actual descent of the enemy. At length, on the 6th of June, 1762, when a fleet of at least 250 sail had been reported as off the coast, the Captain-General still refused to believe that this was the hostile expedition; insisting that it must be a homeward bound convoy from Jamaica. On the morning of that day, he is said to have gone over to the Morro for the purpose of observing in person the movements of the fleet; and when he found that the garrison of the fortress had been called out under arms by the *Teniente Rey*, Don Dionisio Soler, he expressed his disapprobation of the proceeding; declaring it to be imprudent, and desiring that the troops might be sent back to their quarters. After mid-day, however, he received notice from the Morro that the ships of war were approaching the coast, and appeared from their manœuvres to be preparing to effect a landing. Confounded by his own previous incredulity, the Governor at length gave orders to prepare for a vigorous defence. The consternation produced by the ringing of alarm bells and the moving of artillery was extreme. Such of the inhabitants as possessed arms made haste to put them in order, and those who were not so provided presented themselves at the *Sala Real* to ask for them; but there were only 3500 muskets to be found, the greater part of them unfit for service, together with a few carabines, sabres, and bayonets. These were soon

distributed; but in the end a great number of people remained unarmed for want of the needful supplies. The juntas were again assembled, consisting of the Captain-General, the Teniente Rey, the Marques del Real Transporte, General of Marines, and the Commissary-General, Don Lorenzo Montalvo, to whom were added the Conde de Superunda, as Viceroy of Peru, and Major-General Don Diego Tabares as Governor of Carthagena, who happened to be then at the Havana on their return to Europe. Orders were issued by this junta to Colonel Don Carlos Caro to resist the landing of the enemy on the beach of Cogimar and Bacuranao, which they seemed to threaten; adding to his own regiment De Edimburgo the rest of the cavalry then in the city, together with several companies of the infantry of the line, and a few lancers, amounting altogether to about 3000 men.

The expedition sailed from Spithead on the 5th of March, 1762. Its chief object was, after seizing on the French possessions in the West Indies, to make a descent on the Havana, which was justly considered as the principal key to the vast possessions of the Spanish crown in the two great divisions of the American continent; the possession of which would effectually interrupt all communication between the peninsula and the Gulf of Mexico, and thereby give the court of the Catholic King a distaste for the alliance with that of St. Cloud. The first rendezvous of the forces to be combined with the original expedition was at Martinique, and Sir James Douglas was ordered to unite his squadron

stationed at Port Royal, Jamaica, with that of Sir George Pocock, at the Cape of St. Nicholas, in the island of St. Domingo. From this point of union the expedition had the choice of two courses in proceeding towards the Havana. That which would have been the more easy of execution was to sail down the southern side of the island, and doubling the western cape, present itself before the Havana. But as this would have occupied more time, which the maintenance of secrecy rendered valuable, Sir George Pocock resolved on following the shorter and more difficult as well as dangerous course of the old Bahama channel, on the north side of the island. This resolution had the double effect of taking the enemy unprepared, and of obstructing the only course by which the French could send relief from St. Domingo. On the 27th of May the Admiral hoisted his flag, and the whole convoys consisting of 200 vessels of all classes, were soon under sail for the old Bahama passage. The Alarm and Echo frigates, sent in advance, discovered, on the 2d of June, five ships of the enemy, the frigate Tetis, the sloop of war Fénix, a brig, and two smaller vessels. An engagement immediately took place, in the issue of which one of the light vessels escaped, the other four being captured. On the evening of the 5th the Pan of Matanzas was visible; and on the morning of the 6th, being then five leagues to the eastward of the Havana, the necessary orders were issued for the commanders of the boats of the squadron and the captains of the transports, with regard to the de-

barkation of the troops. This duty was entrusted to the Honourable Commodore Keppel, at whose disposal were placed six ships of the line, several frigates, and the large boats of the squadron. The Admiral followed at two in the afternoon, with 13 ships of the line, 2 frigates, the bomb vessels of the expedition, and 36 store boats. On presenting himself at the mouth of the harbour, for the double purpose of reconnoitering the enemy and making the feint of an attack to cover the operations of Commodore Keppel, he ascertained that 12 ships of the line and a number of merchant vessels were lying at anchor within it. On the following morning the Admiral prepared his launches for landing a body of sailors and marines about four miles to the westward of the Havana. At the same time Lord Albemarle effected the landing of the whole of the troops, without opposition, between the rivers Bacuranao and Cogimar about six miles from the Morro. A body of men having appeared on the beach, Commodore Keppel directed the Mercury and Bonetta corvettes to disperse them; but a much greater number having soon afterward presented themselves with the evident intention of disputing the passage of the Rio Cogimar with the main body of the expedition, Captain Hervey in the Dragon was sent to bombard the fort, which afforded the enemy protection, but which very soon surrendered, leaving a free passage for the advance of the invaders.

From the prisoners taken on the 2d of June in the Tetis and Fénix, the presence of a naval force in

the harbour became known to the English, together with the fact that most of the enemy's ships had completed their supplies of water, and were nearly ready for sea. Till then the Governor, as has been stated, was almost wholly unprepared. The first notice he had of the actual approach of the expedition was obtained from the crew of the small schooner, which escaped from the pursuit of the Alarm and the Echo. As soon as he became convinced of the fact, the Governor, as we have seen, assembled a council of war, composed of the chief officers under his command. At this Junta de Guerra the plan of defence was arranged, and a firm resolution was taken to resist the invasion to the last extremity. The defence of the Morro, on the possession of which the fate of the Havana in a great measure depended, was entrusted to Don Luis de Velasco, commander of the Reyna ship of the line, to whose gallantry and perseverance Sir George Pocock, in his subsequent report to the Admiralty, pays a just tribute of commendation. His second in command, the Marquess de Gonzales, commander of the Aquilon ship of the line, followed in all respects the example of Valesco, dying sword in hand in defence of his flag. The defence of the Punta Castle was in like manner assigned to a naval officer, Don Manuel Briseño, who had a friend in the same branch of the service for his second in command. This arrangement gave deadly offence to the officers of the army, who thought themselves unjustly superseded in the post of honour and of danger; but it was urged

in excuse, that naval officers were better acquainted than those of the infantry or the cavalry with the use of artillery; and as the naval squadron had become useless by being locked up in the harbour, this was the only way in which they could be advantageously employed.

Before the governor could assemble the militia of the island under arms, he thought it necessary to declare war by proclamation against Great Britain. When his whole force was at length assembled, it was found in gross numbers greatly to exceed that of the invaders. It consisted of nine squadrons of cavalry, including the Edinburgh dragoons, in all 810 men; the regiment of the Havana 700; two battalions of the regiment de España 1400; two battalions of the regiment de Aragon 1400; three companies of artillery 300; seamen and marines of the squadron 9000; militia and people of colour 14,000; — making a grand total of 27,610. The greater part of the Spanish force was stationed in the town of Guanabacao, on the side of the bay opposite to the Havana, between the points where the invading forces had landed, in order to prevent them from turning the head of the harbour and attacking the city by land. The British force was divided into five brigades—the first, under Brigadier Haviland, consisted of the 1st, 56th, and 60th regiments; the second, under Brigadier Walsh, of the 9th, 48th, and 27th; the third, under Brigadier Reid, of the 75th, 43d, 35th, and 34th; the fourth, under Brigadier Grant, of the 17th, 1st and 2d battalions of the 42d, the 77th, 65th, and the 4th; the

fifth, under the command of Brigadier Lord Rollo, of the 22d, 72d, 90th, and 40th; the royal artillery, an independent corps, and the engineers, amounting, with detachments from Jamaica and North America, to a total of 14,041 land forces. At daybreak on the 7th the troops were already on board the boats arranged in three divisions—the centre commanded by the Honourable Augustus Hervey; the right wing by Captains Barton and Drake; and the left, by Captains Arbuthnot and Jekyl. The first brigade was also the first to land; and as soon as the troops had formed on the beach, Lord Albemarle took the command, and marched in the direction of the city, which he did without farther molestation as soon as the Cogimar batteries had been silenced. His Excellency established his head quarters in Cogimar for the night; the troops were served with rations under arms; and several piquets were advanced to the eminences overlooking the Havana.

Determined to attack the enemy in the position they had taken up at Guanabacao for the purpose of impeding the advance on the city, Lord Albemarle detached Colonel Carleton with a body of light troops to cut off their retreat. The Spaniards were advantageously posted on the heights of the Indio, consisting of a strong body of the infantry and the whole of the cavalry, and were formed in line of battle to receive the invaders. Finding the numbers of the enemy so great, Colonel Carleton thought it more prudent, having only a force of 1200 men, to establish himself in a strong position,

and acquaint the Commander-in-chief with the situation and strength of the enemy. Colonel Carleton had scarcely moved when his right wing was attacked by a strong detachment of cavalry, who were compelled, however, to retire in great confusion from the brisk fire which was opened upon them. Disheartened by this check, the whole Spanish force retreated from Guanabacao; and Lord Albemarle took possession of the town.

By another road Colonel Howe, with two battalions of grenadiers, crossed the heights of Cogimar to reconnoitre the Morro Castle, and secure his communications with the river. The Alarm and Richmond frigates were sent to sound the coast as near as possible to the Punta Castle on the Havana side of the harbour. There they found anchorage extending to the distance of three leagues, with from five to twenty fathoms water, and the means of ready debarkation for any number of troops. On this same evening the Spaniards caused one of the largest of their ships of war to be sunk in the mouth of the harbour, where, as I have elsewhere stated, it remains to this day; but this operation was performed with such precipitation, that several of the seamen on board went down in her and were drowned. Supposing the entrance to be effectually closed, the English came to anchor outside, but when the place was taken they entered the harbour without any difficulty.

With saddles and bridles brought from England, a squadron of 100 dragoons was soon mounted, on horses taken from the enemy; and the command

of it was given to Captain Suttie of the 9th, who did good service in scouring the country, and supplying the commissariat with cattle. This squadron was attached to the corps which was left in possession of Guanabacao. In the mean time the consternation which prevailed in the city had reached its height, occasioned by the expulsion of Don Carlos Caro, and the forces under his command from Guanabacao and the subsequent entry of the English. The monks and nuns in the convents, the women and children of the city, were all ordered to leave the place without a moment's delay; but not a single man able to carry arms was allowed to pass the gates; not even the servants required for driving the carriages. With this procession an escort of 100 men were sent for the protection of the nuns. On the same day an order was issued for burning down and destroying all that part of the city which then existed beyond the walls; and the whole of these extensive suburbs were speedily reduced to ashes.

On the 9th, Lord Albemarle withdrew from Guanabacao, with the main body of the army, and encamped on the heights between Cogimar and the Morro, leaving Lieutenant-General Elliot, his second in command, with a sufficient force in the town to secure a passage for the troops round the head of the harbour to the city, and at the same time to provide the army with bread, meat, water, and vegetables. The enemy on this day began to dismantle their squadron, sunk another ship of the line in the entrance of the harbour, and otherwise

obstructed it, by means of large spars and beams of wood drawn across it.

On the 10th, Lord Albemarle acquainted Sir George Pocock that he was about to attack the Cabaños, which commands the Morro, and directed him to draw the attention of the enemy to the other side of the Havana. The Belleisle was accordingly ordered to attack the Chorrera Fort, and the Nottingham was directed to support the attack, if necessary, while the Cerberus, Mercury, Bonetta, and Lurcher, were to keep up a fire on the high grounds during the night; and the whole of the seamen and marines were to be embarked in the boats of the fleet, in order to convey the idea that a new landing was about to be effected. This manœuvre was exceedingly successful, as the fathers, brothers, and other relatives of the non-belligerent portion of the community already expelled from the city, became so alarmed for the safety of their wives and children, that many of them left the city by stealth to fly to their protection, while others remained firm at their post, leaving the care of their relatives to Providence. Colonel Carleton with the light infantry and the grenadiers were stationed between Cogimar and the Cabaños.

At mid-day, on the 11th, the Cabaños fortress was attacked by Colonel Carleton, and carried with very little resistance, the enemy retiring to the Morro. In the course of the attack on the Cabaños, the enemy abandoned the Chorrera fort on the other side; and during the night the three

bomb vessels came to anchor at a point from which they could throw shells into the city.

On the 12th, by order of the Commander-in-chief, the reconnaissance of the Morro was advanced, and the attack was entrusted to Major-General Keppel. It was determined to establish a battery as near as the heights would allow, and for this purpose a point was chosen at the distance of 250 yards. Every thing necessary was prepared, parties having been sent out to cut fascines. It is not easy to form an idea of the sufferings which the army must have endured in the course of this siege. The ground on every side is so open that it was difficult or impossible to cover the people in the course of their approaches. The water had to be brought from a very great distance, and at length it became so scarce that it was necessary to have recourse to the supplies on board the fleet. To form our communications a thick forest had to be cut through, where not a tree is now to be seen, and the battering train had to be dragged for several miles over a rugged and stony soil. Many of our brave fellows fell victims to the heat, and the thirst it occasioned, and to the excessive fatigues to which they were exposed. But such was the cordial and perfect union between the naval and military services, and such the determined resolution of both, that no obstacle was sufficient to interrupt their progress. A third ship having been sunk in the mouth of the harbour, which confirmed the invaders in their previous idea that the entrance was completely obstructed,

the Admiral directed that four of his ships should continue cruizing off the Punta, and that the remainder of the squadron should come to anchor under the Chorrera about four miles distant, where water and fire-wood were to be had in abundance. Commodore Keppel kept up to windward, having cast anchor near Cogimar with as many ships of war and transports as he thought necessary. A considerable body of seamen had been landed, who were found exceedingly useful in moving the battering train, as well as in manning the batteries, and also in carrying water to the troops, not a drop being to be found in the neighbourhood of the Cabaños. The Admiral had landed the guns of the squadron of various calibres, together with two mortars from the Thunder bomb anchored to windward, and two from the Grenada to leeward, together with cables and old casks, bags for sand and other materials, with which to construct breastworks and defences.

On the 13th the construction of the projected battery was begun, and another further off, the express object of which was to compel the ships near the mouth of the harbour to withdraw further inward, and so prevent their fire from disturbing the troops in their approaches. Orders were given that two battalions of grenadiers and a detachment of 300 light infantry under the command of Colonel Howe, should land at the Chorrera, not only to secure the possession of the fort but to call the attention of the Spaniards to that side. To this detachment 800 marines were added, formed into

two battalions, under the command of Majors Campbell and Collins.

The labour of cutting the trenches against the Morro had been retarded by the limited extent of the ground, so that it was not until the 28th of June that the batteries were ready to open their fire on the fortress and the shipping. On the morning of the 29th, the Spaniards, from their ships in the harbour, landed two detachments of 500 men each, consisting of grenadiers and other picked troops, with a picket of negroes and people of colour, the one to the right of the Morro, and the other near the limekilns to the left. Their object was defeated by the advanced guard of the English, who drove them off, and killed or captured 200 of them. The others escaped into the wood, and the invaders in this affair lost only ten men in killed and wounded.

The greater part of the 30th of June was occupied in carrying ammunition and other necessary articles into the batteries, in order that the operations might be begun on the following morning. This duty was performed, with the assistance of the soldiers, by 500 negroes, who had been purchased for such purposes at Martinique and Antigua. Lord Albemarle applied to the Admiral to station some of his ships so as to attack the Morro from the sea, with the view of weakening the fire from the fortress. The Dragon, Cambridge, and Marlborough were accordingly so stationed under the command of Captain Hervey, who had volunteered his services. The Stirling Castle was or-

dered to make way for the other three ships; but Captain Campbell, her commander, having disobeyed the order, he was afterwards brought for this breach of discipline before a council of war.

The batteries were opened on the morning of the 1st of July. In that called the William, on the left, there were four 24-pounders and two 13-inch howitzers; in the grand battery, eight 24-pounders and two 13-inch howitzers; in the left parallel, two 10-inch, and twelve 5-inch mortars; and in the batteries on the beach, two 13-inch, one 10-inch, and fourteen 5-inch mortars.

The number of pieces which the Spaniards could bring to bear was much greater than that of the English, but our fire was nevertheless more effectual. At eight o'clock in the morning the Dragon, Cambridge, and Marlborough opened a furious cannonade on the Morro, which was answered by the Spaniards with great determination. The Cambridge being stationed within reach of grapeshot was seriously damaged in her hull, masts, and spars, and lost a great number of men in killed and wounded; so that it became necessary to order her to withdraw, as did afterwards, for the same reason, the Dragon; and the Marlborough being no longer of any use, she was also ordered to leave her station. This took place at two in the afternoon; when the number of killed and wounded in the three ships was 182. In this engagement the fortress, from its high and rocky situation, had a great advantage over the ships, which had also to sustain the fire of the Punta Castle, on the other side of the harbour, and that of several of the bat-

teries of the city. However slight the impression on the fortress by the fire from the ships, the object in the contemplation of the two commanders, of creating a diversion in favour of the land attack, was fully accomplished by it, and enabled the batteries on shore to do great damage to the works. But as soon as the Spaniards were free from the fire of the ships, they returned with fresh vigour to the attack on the land batteries.

It was now fourteen days since any rain had fallen, so that from the extreme dryness of the fascines, they were in constant danger of being set on fire. The eight-gun battery of the Morro was silenced on the 2d of July, and before night-fall the fire from the fortress was reduced to two guns. On the 3d, the fire had taken such strong hold of the fascines that neither earth nor water could extinguish it, so that in a few hours the labour of 500 or 600 men was completely annihilated, and required to be begun again. The army had now been reduced by excessive toil to one half its original numbers, and the fevers caught at Martinique were seriously aggravated in this unwholesome climate, in so much that scarcely sufficient remained for the performance of the indispensable duties of the siege. Not less than 5000 soldiers and 3000 seamen were at one time unfit for service, and the want of suitable fresh provisions greatly retarded their cure. Of all their calamities the want of water was the greatest, and that which most aggravated their sufferings. The hurricane season, too, was approaching; if it came on with its usual violence,

the squadron would be exposed to the most serious disasters; and without the aid of the ships, the land forces would be unable to continue the siege, so that serious apprehensions as to the issue began to be entertained. During the nights of the 4th and 5th of July every effort was made to extinguish the fire; and at length, with the greatest difficulty, two of the embrasures to the right, and the carriages of the mortars on the left, were saved. It was determined, in consequence of the disabled state of the battery, to remove the mortars on the left parallel, and place cannon in their stead. Repairs were also begun on the other works which had most suffered from the fire of the Punta, the city, the ships of war, and the floating batteries. The Defiance and Hampton Court, appointed to cruize between Mariel and Bahia Honda, captured two Spanish frigates, the Marte and Venganza.

Two additional embrasures were established during the night of the 6th in the William battery; a new four-gun battery was formed; and on the morning of the 9th the assailants had once more twelve guns fit for service, while the Spaniards had but eight or nine. On the 10th a new four-gun battery was formed in the left parallel, and on the 11th the attack was renewed with fresh vigour, with eighteen guns against eight or nine from the Morro; but from the uninterrupted communication of the fortress with the city, and the great assistance the garrison obtained from the Spanish ships of war in working their guns, the losses they suffered by day were always repaired at night.

Sir James Douglas arrived on the 12th with the convoy from Jamaica, and on the 13th a new four-gun battery of 32-pounders was opened, on the right parallel, and did considerable damage to the left bulwark of the Morro. On the 14th our force was increased to 20 guns, which before night reduced that of the enemy to two. The whole front exposed to the attack was in a state of complete ruin; but the Spaniards, although in some confusion, still held out bravely. Before nightfall of the 15th the fire from the fortress was completely silenced, and on the morning of the 16th they could only bring two guns to bear, which were fired but twice.

On the 17th the Valiant, ship of the line, opened her fire on the castle, which did not return it. In the evening the sapping operations were begun, and on the following day were so far advanced as to admit of a small lodgment in front of the point of the western bulwark. On the 19th the miners had penetrated to the right of the bulwarks, at the only point where there was any chance of reaching the bottom of the wall. Suspecting that the fortress was almost deserted, a sergeant with twelve men was directed to scale the wall on the side next the sea, a little to the right of the mine, where they found only nine or ten Spaniards, all asleep; but before the English party could reach them they awoke and gave the alarm. If it had been possible to have sent immediate assistance, the Morro might have been taken that very night.

The Governor of the Havana began to see that

the fortress must soon surrender, when he would be left with no protection but that of the walls and outworks of the city. Seeing that something must be done, he resolved to strike a blow, which, if it succeeded, might not only save the Morro, but compel the English to raise the siege. This design was well conceived, but miserably executed. About 1500 men were to embark in boats from the city, and, divided into three columns, were to attack the English position at the Cabañas, drive us out of our works, and set fire to such of our batteries as were constructed with fascines. Had this plan been properly executed, the siege must have been abandoned from the sickness which prevailed in the army, and the ignorance which existed of the succours which were about to arrive from North America. The attack was begun at four in the morning by the first of the three columns in front of the Pastora battery, where there was only a post of thirty men, commanded by Colonel Stuart, who defended himself bravely for nearly an hour, until he was joined by 100 sappers, and by the 3d battalion of North American Loyalists, by whom the assailants were driven down the hill with great loss. Some reached their boats; but others, to the number of 150, were pushed into the water, and there perished. The second column attempted to attack the sappers by the salient angle of the Morro, but were instantly repulsed and beaten. The third, seeing no chance of success, retired without striking a blow. Colonel Carleton, with the rank of Brigadier, had the chief merit of this repulse, but in

the course of it was seriously wounded. In this attack the Spaniards lost 400 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, without counting such of the wounded as escaped. In the mean time, preparations were making in the city to embark a reserve with which to support the attack; but, having heard of the reception which the first assailants had met with, the attempt was abandoned. This appeared to be the last assistance which the fortress had to expect; and yet, although abandoned by the city, and its walls pierced with mines, no proposal for a capitulation appeared. From this date the work of sapping continued with little interruption.

Preparations were made, in the mean time, for attacking the city. Brigadier Burton, in the Intrepid, had arrived with the first division of a convoy of troops from New York. On the 29th the mine was so far advanced, that it was to be charged on the following morning. At two in the afternoon the match was applied, and a breach which Lord Albemarle and the engineers thought practicable was effected, so that the troops destined for the assault received orders to mount. Lieutenant Charles Forbes of the Royals placed himself promptly at its head, and ascended with the greatest intrepidity, forming his men in good order, and instantly dispersing the enemy that covered the walls. The gallant Governor, Don Luis de Velasco, resolved on the most desperate resistance, fell mortally wounded in this assault, which proved a complete surprise, as our men had mounted before the alarm was given to the garrison. Velasco, during the

short time he survived, received from the conquerors every mark of respect and attention. His son was afterwards created Vizconde del Morro by his Catholic Majesty; and to commemorate his name it was ordered that in the Real Armada, there should always be a ship bearing that of Velasco.

Besides the death of the Governor and the fall of the fortress, the enemy had to lament the loss of 130 men; 400 laid down their arms, and the rest were drowned in attempting to escape to the city. The assault cost the victors the loss of two officers and thirty men. The Marques de Gonzalez, the second in command, lost his life in an unsuccessful attempt to rally the garrison; and it was not until after forty-four days of unwearied exertion, with a loss to the Spaniards of upwards of a thousand men, that the victory was achieved. With the Morro there fell into the hands of the English 102 brass cannon, 202 of iron, 9 brass mortars and 2 of iron, 4157 muskets, 500 hand-grenades, 460 uncharged, 16,404 cannon balls of various calibres, 30 quintals of musket balls, 125,000 cartridges, and 500 quintals of gunpowder.

After the mines under the sea bastion of the Morro had been completed, Lord Albemarle addressed a letter to Don Luis de Velasco, conceived in the most flattering terms, informing him of the fact, explaining to him the hopelessness of continuing the defence, and expressing his fears that, when the fortress should be taken by assault, it would be impossible to restrain the victorious soldiery from the general slaughter which in such

cases is sanctioned by the laws of war; and he threw the whole responsibility of this needless waste of human life on the governor of the castle, declaring his conviction, that if the King of Spain himself were present he would be the first to order a capitulation, and expressing in conclusion his Lordship's strong desire to treat with, love, and serve the gallant defender of the Morro. The answer of Don Luis de Velasco was not less chivalrous in its character; assuring Lord Albemarle that he did not think his situation by any means so desperate as his Lordship had represented, and expressing his firm determination to abide the fate of an appeal to arms.

This correspondence took place on the 29th of July, and on the following day the Morro Castle surrendered. This event is thus described by an eye-witness, Don Bartolome Montes, one of the officers of the garrison: —

"While the whole of the officers were at dinner, between 12 and 1 o'clock, the Condestable entered, and said that he had just been to the battery of San Nicolas, from whence he had seen one of the English frigates moving round the point, and that one of her boats had been sent out to sound, from which he supposed that an attack on that side might be expected. On this the Commander-in-chief directed me to take the spy-glass and watch the movements of the ship, giving orders at the same time to fire upon her as soon as she should come within range of our guns. While I was occupied in the execution of this order, I per-

ceived that the frigate was becalmed, and at the same instant felt that the hornillo, or mine, which the enemy had established in the corner of the Caballero de la Mar, had exploded, blowing up some of our advanced sentinels among its ruins, and also some of the seamen employed in the Orejon de la Mar, in the charging of hand-grenades; one of whom, who was saved, was brought into the castle by the turret of Santo Tomas. Of all this I sent an account to the commander, without leaving the spot; from whence also I despatched Don Lorenzo de Milla, captain of the battalion de España, to ascertain if the explosion had produced a practicable breach, when he brought me back for answer that the breach was not practicable, at least not without a great deal of labour. At this moment the Commander-in-chief arrived in his undress uniform, with his sword by his side, and having heard what I have just stated, he withdrew to the Morillo, and gave orders to the guard to withdraw or cut away the ladders on that side, in order to prevent the possibility of any soldier or other individual leaving the fortress. This order was not executed with sufficient promptitude; and scarcely had the commander turned his back when the picket, which had been left in the Orejon de Tierra, seized on the post, and descending the ladders, made their way to the boats stationed under the Morillo, and from thence across the harbour to the Punta Castle, although as yet there was not a single enemy to be seen in the Caballero de la Mar.

"Following the example of this picket, no sooner had a dozen English soldiers entered the bastion, than the whole of the seamen, gunners, and soldiers, made the best of their way out of it. In the crest of the rampart, which rises from the lower battery of San Nicolas, a curtain had been formed with bags of sand, under shelter of which a picket of forty seamen with their officers had been posted, to whom I made known that I had seen the four first English soldiers enter, and desired that the picket or at least a part of it might be advanced to oppose them. This the officers could not effect, only two of their men coming forward, and the rest concealing themselves behind the sand-bags. The English were in consequence enabled to advance and form without opposition, and having seen this, I hastened to a company under my command at the foot of the rampart, who with their leader, Don Fernando de Parraga, made an attempt at resistance, in which the lieutenant lost his life. During this interval, the Commander-in-chief was occupied in endeavouring to re-assemble the troops, animating them by his presence, on the approach of the enemy, who every instant were increasing in number, not only by the Caballero de la Mar, but also on the Cortina del Medio, from whence they passed to the Cortina de Tierra, for the purpose of driving out our troops from the three Cortaduras on that side. On the first discharge, the Commander-in-chief received his mortal wound, and was immediately removed into the guard-house. Almost at the same moment, I was also wounded in the elbow-

joint of the right arm, and I perceived that the Marquis Gonzalez had received two wounds while bravely defending the curtain and the ditch. Finding myself compelled to withdraw, I gave orders to Captain Milla, now the senior officer of the garrison, to take a white flag and offer to capitulate, thinking myself justified in this proceeding by the state in which we found ourselves, with the first and second in command so badly wounded as to be unable to give orders. My instructions, however, were not followed; and the number of the enemy had already increased so much, as to enable them to crush our disheartened troops, and take possession of the fortress, several of our officers having fallen before them with arms in their hands."

Between two and three o'clock the same afternoon the British flag was seen flying from the Morro; and as soon as Lord Albemarle ascertained that Velasco had been so badly wounded, he sent him over to the city in charge of a field-officer with a flag of truce, in order to afford him a better chance of being cured; but the wound being of the most serious nature, he died in little more than 24 hours, having first received all the consolations of religion. The highest funeral honours consistent with the beleaguered state of the city were of course paid to his remains.

The time had now arrived for the attack on the city. Aware of their danger, the enemy commenced an active fire on the Morro, which they chiefly directed against the water tanks, in order to cut off that essential supply. Lord Albemarle now passed

over to the other side of the city to reconnoitre the ground in person, and see how the attack might be made there with most advantage in case of need. The works on both sides having been sufficiently advanced, his Lordship on the 10th sent a flag of truce to the Governor, to represent the danger to which the city was exposed, and propose a capitulation. The flag was detained from daybreak till four in the afternoon, when it was sent back without an answer. The fire from the city was instantly recommenced, but a great many people were seen to leave it with burdens.

In the forenoon of the 11th, the whole of the English batteries, mounting 45 guns, were opened on the city. The advantage of our position, and the superiority in weight of metal, had now a palpable effect. The Punta Castle was silenced between nine and ten o'clock, and the northern battery within an hour afterwards; although at distant intervals a shot was still heard. Soon after midday the Punta was abandoned, at two in the afternoon the white flag was pulled down, and a Spanish *parlamentario* arrived at Lord Albemarle's headquarters to propose a capitulation. On this his Lordship sent for Sir George Pocock; the flag of truce returned to the city, and hostilities were suspended during the night.

On the 12th the negotiations were continued, and after some little delay, in the course of which orders were issued to recommence hostilities, the capitulation was signed and sealed before nightfall of the 13th. At 10 o'clock in the morning of

the 14th, Major-General Keppel, with 500 men, took possession of the Punta, and at twelve, of the city gate and battery of that name, hoisting the British flag at both places as soon as they were evacuated by the enemy. Colonel Howe at the same time took possession of the landward gate, *Puerto de Tierra*, with two battalions of grenadiers.

The garrison were of course made prisoners, and were sent on board the fleet. Without counting the sick or wounded left in the city, their numbers were as follow:—3 colonels, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 sergeant-majors, 4 adjutants, 4 chaplains, 3 surgeons, 17 captains, 56 subalterns, 38 sergeants, 29 drummers, 778 rank and file, and 57 followers.

The articles of capitulation thus concluded bear the signatures of Sir George Pocock and Lord Albemarle, the Marques del Real Transporte, Commander-in-chief of the Spanish squadron, and Don Juan de Prado, the Governor of the Havana. In consideration of the vigorous and gallant defence of the Morro, the garrison were suffered to march out with arms and artillery, matches lighted, drums beating, colours flying, and all the honours of war; but the dragoons were dismounted, leaving the horses for the service of the conquerors, and the militia were to deposit their arms with the English commissary. The officers of the garrison and of the Spanish squadron were permitted to carry with them on board the ships provided by the English for their reception the whole of their personal ef-

fects; and the civil officers of the government, after rendering their accounts, were to be allowed, if they chose, to leave the island. The cannon, arms of all sorts, ammunition, and naval stores, were given up. The Ex-Viceroy of Peru, and the Ex-Governor of Carthagena, were allowed to return to the peninsula, with all their personal effects and attendants. The maintenance of the Catholic religion was agreed to, as were the public performance of Catholic rites as well in the churches as out of doors, the preservation of the privileges of the clergy, their property and revenues, their convents, monasteries, hospitals, universities, colleges, and fraternities, in the same way as before the surrender, under the condition that the future nomination of priests and other ecclesiastical functionaries should be made with the approbation of his Britannic Majesty's governor. On the part of the Spanish authorities an article was proposed to sanction the removal to Spain of the tobacco and other property belonging to the Spanish government, and for continuing the exports from the island to the peninsula through the port of the Havana. It was also proposed that the Havana should be considered a neutral port, to which the subjects of the King should always have access, but both these conditions were refused on the part of the conquerors. The inhabitants of the city, however, Europeans as well as natives, were to be left in the free enjoyment of their rights, property, and privileges, and of such offices as they might have acquired by purchase, subject only to Spanish

law, and to the customary forms for the administration of justice. Such of them as chose to leave the city were to be allowed to carry with them their personal property, and were to receive passports for any part of the dominions of Spain they might select. But although the other property of the King was declared to be lawful prize, his Majesty's slaves were to be delivered up to such persons as he might appoint to receive them. The conquerors refused to give up the Spanish merchant vessels in the harbour at the time of the capture; but the records and other public documents were to be left in the custody of the Spanish functionaries. The sick and wounded in the military hospitals were to be treated in the same manner with the English garrison, and the Spaniards were suffered to leave sentinels for the protection of the churches, convents, and other places of importance.

The Spanish authorities, in the course of these negotiations, made every possible exertion to save their squadron; but as that was considered a most important object by the conquerors, the proposal was not listened to. It was on this point and on the proposed neutrality of the port of the Havana, during the continuance of hostilities, that the chief difference arose which protracted the negotiation. It was just two months and eight days from the date of the arrival of the expedition to the day that the English took possession of the city. With the capital there was given up the whole territory annexed to it, extending 180 miles to the westward;

so that this conquest was the most considerable, and in its consequences the most decisive, of all that had taken place throughout the course of the war. It had, besides, all the effect of a naval victory. Nine ships of the line fell into the hands of the conquerors; three had been sunk in the harbour; and two, far advanced on the stocks, were destroyed. The loss to the Spaniards in ships of war, merchant ships, money, tobacco, and other articles of value, was estimated at three millions sterling.

No despatch was sent home with the intelligence of the first success, the naval and military chiefs having agreed to wait until the city itself had fallen. On the part of Sir George Pocock, the Hon. Augustus Hervey, and Captain Nugent, on the part of Lord Albemarle, were sent home with the accounts of the victory. In the Admiral's despatch he describes the port of Mariel as being an important acquisition, saying that he had sent there 100 transports and several ships of war, with the view of retaining possession of it; and Lord Albemarle on the one side, and Sir George Pocock on the other, speak in the highest terms of the perfect harmony and good understanding which uninterruptedly prevailed between the two branches of the service, from the commencement to the close of the enterprise.

CHAP. XXIV.

ENGLISH OCCUPATION. — HISTORICAL NOTICES, A. D. 1764—1832.

Soon after the conquest, a demand was made by Colonel Cleveland, the officer in command of the artillery, on the Bishop and the clergy, requiring an account of the bells of the churches, convents, and monasteries of the Havana and the other towns in the district, as well as of the ingenios in the neighbourhood, and of all such metal as is used in the making of bells, in order that the value might be adjusted, and the amount paid according, as he asserted, to the laws and customs of war, when a city after a siege has surrendered by capitulation. In consequence of this proceeding, the Bishop wrote to Lord Albemarle requesting an explanation; when his Lordship replied, that when a city was besieged and taken, the commander of the artillery receives a gratification, and that Colonel Cleveland had made the demand with his Lordship's concurrence. On this the Bishop called a junta of his clergy; at which it was resolved that Colonel Cleveland should be requested to specify the towns to which he referred, in addition to the Havana, when he restricted the demand to Guanabacao with its auxiliary church of Guadaloupe; and with respect to the amount of the gratification, he returned for answer, that the

churches would provide such a sum as they could reasonably contribute. The junta agreed to offer $1000; but Cleveland, thinking this sum too small, made a specific demand of $30,000, which was afterwards reduced by Lord Albemarle to $10,000. The church, however, pretended poverty, and begged all round the neighbourhood for assistance, but all that could be collected was $103 4. This was communicated to Lord Albemarle, who made no reply; but Colonel Cleveland presented himself in person, and required the delivery of the bells, specifying the 4th of September as the day on which he was to receive them. On this the Bishop advanced the money, and so set the question at rest.

Another question arose between the invaders and the clergy, the English governor having required that one of the churches should be set apart for the exercise of Protestant worship. To this the Bishop replied that the demand was inconsistent with the terms of the capitulation, by which it was stipulated that the rights and usages of the church should be protected. To this Lord Albemarle replied by repeating his request; adding, that if one church could not be spared altogether, he would be content to have the use of one alternately with the Catholics at such hours of the morning and evening as might be agreed upon. The Bishop having made an evasive answer, Lord Albemarle again wrote to him as follows:—"Most Illustrious Sir, I have received a very long letter from your Lordship, which is no answer to mine. I

am not aware of having made any particular capitulation with the church, and I am certain that none can exclude his Britannic Majesty's subjects from the exercise of their religion; and for this reason, if your Lordship does not assign me a church, I shall take that which seems to me most suitable. I beg to remind your Lordship that the nomination to all ecclesiastical dignities and employments must receive my approbation, and I think it would be better to comply with my request, than to give yourself the trouble of writing such long letters. God preserve your Lordship many years! (Signed) Albemarle, Havana, 4th September, 1762." This produced a reply "that since he had so resolved, his Lordship might take any church he chose," on which he selected that of the Franciscans. Lord Albemarle insisted, nevertheless, on having a list of all the ecclesiastical benefices of the bishopric, in order to qualify him to make the choice which the treaty of capitulation had given him in the supply of vacancies. This demand was refused by the bishop, who insisted that the church could not be subjected to any secular power whatever.

In the mean time, Lord Albemarle applied to the Bishop on a subject on which his Lordship doubtless felt himself more immediately and personally interested: — "Most Illustrious Sir, I am sorry to be under the necessity of writing to your Lordship what ought to have been thought of some days ago, viz. a donation from the church to the Commander-in-chief of the victorious army. The least

that your Lordship can offer will be $100,000. I wish to live in peace with your Lordship and with the church, as I have shown in all that has hitherto occurred, and I hope that your Lordship will not give me reason to alter my intentions. I kiss your Lordship's hands. Your humble servant, Albemarle, Havana, 19th October, 1762."

On this, the Bishop applied to Sir George Pocock for his mediation; stating, that besides injuring the church, the demand was inconsistent with the terms of capitulation; but the Admiral, while he consented to mediate, professed his perfect satisfaction with the conduct of the Commander-in-chief, and assured his Lordship, "that, under the protection of Great Britain and of British officers, he had nothing to fear." Lord Albemarle still insisted on the list of the benefices, and declared, that if the demand was not instantly complied with, he would proclaim the Bishop a violator of the treaty. To this the Bishop replied, that on this point he appealed to the two courts, to which he would also address himself on the subject of the donation demanded by Lord Albemarle, the violent occupation of the church of San Francisco, and of the hospital of San Juan de Dios. This produced a proclamation by Lord Albemarle, declaring "that the conduct of the Bishop was seditious; that he had forgot he was now a subject of Great Britain, and that it was absolutely necessary he should be expelled from the island, and sent to Florida in one of the British ships of war, in order that public tranquillity might be maintained, and that good correspondence and

harmony might continue between the old and the new subjects of the King, which the conduct of the Bishop had visibly interrupted."

According to the Spanish authorities there were not wanting among the other classes of the inhabitants many serious causes of complaint. An attempt was made to collect a sum of $200,000 to be offered as a donation to the conquering army; but it was so generally resisted, by some from want of means, and by the greater number from disaffection to the cause, that no great progress was made in it, so that it ultimately fell to the ground. So arbitrary were the orders of Lord Albemarle, that the slightest suspicion is said to have been sufficient to bring some unfortunate individual before a council of war, whose decisions are represented to have been both sudden and sanguinary, paying as little respect to ecclesiastics as to laymen, and occasionally sending them to the scaffold without even allowing them the consolations of religion. Of the truth of these last statements I have no means of judging; but finding them deliberately advanced in the Transactions of the Patriotic Society, I do not feel myself justified in withholding them.

The loss sustained by the invaders was very considerable. It consisted of 11 officers, 15 non-commissioned officers, 4 drummers, and 260 privates killed; 19 officers, 19 non-commissioned officers, 6 drummers, and 576 privates wounded; 4 officers, 1 drummer, and 51 soldiers, who afterwards died of their wounds; 39 officers, 14 non-commissioned

officers, 11 drummers, and 630 privates, who fell victims to the climate or to the fatigues of the siege, and 1 sergeant, 4 drummers, and 125 privates missing — making a total loss of 73 officers, 49 non-commissioned officers, 26 drummers, and 1642 privates — in all, 1790. In compliance with the order sent out to Lord Albemarle, as soon as the place had surrendered, he despatched the 15th brigade to New York, where, from their previous exhaustion, and the severity of a northern climate, very few of them survived till the following spring.

At home his Lordship was severely censured for not having begun the campaign by an attack on the city, whose walls and outworks were represented as in a very dilapidated condition, the dry ditches being narrow, and the covered way in ruins. The Punta Castle, also, it was stated, had been constructed more for the protection of the entrance of the harbour than to strengthen the fortifications of the city; whereas the Morro was a powerful fortress with two strong batteries to landward, and two towards the sea, so situated as to defend the harbour's mouth, and command at once the Punta and the city. The Spaniards had shown, by sinking their ships in the harbour's mouth, and permanently injuring the entrance, that they apprehended a different mode of attack, and feared that the harbour itself might have been forced; but this was considered in England to have been the only point on which the gallant defenders of the Havana had committed any serious blunder.

The distribution of the spoil was a subject of great discontent; and it must be admitted that the partition, which gave three or four pounds to a soldier or a sailor, whose life was equally exposed with that of his superiors, and 100,000*l.* to an admiral or a commander-in-chief, was far from being impartial. In the distribution of the prize-money Sir George Pocock was placed on the same footing with Lord Albemarle, and Commodore Keppel with Lieutenant-General Elliot; the shares of the two former having amounted to 122,697*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* each, and those of each of the two seconds in command to 24,539*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* The whole spoil was, in fact, equally divided between the two services, having amounted altogether to 736,185*l.* 3*s.*, or 368,092*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* each. But although the services and the chiefs were placed on an equality, the same rule could not be observed with the officers and privates. The share of a major-general was 6816*l.* 10*s.* 6½*d.*; that of a brigadier-general, 1947*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*; that of an officer of the staff, 564*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; that of a captain, 184*l.* 4*s.* 7¼*d.*; that of a subaltern, 116*l.* 3*s.* 0¼*d.*; that of a sergeant, 8*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*; that of a corporal, 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, and that of a private soldier, 4*l.* 1*s.* 8½*d.* The share of a captain in the navy was 1600*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*; of a lieutenant, 234*l.* 13*s.* 3¾*d.*; of other commissioned officers, 118*l.* 5*s.* 11¼*d.*; of warrant officers, 17*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*, and of ordinary seamen, 3*l.* 14*s.* 9¾*d.* It seems to me that a more reasonable principle of distribution in such cases would be to adopt the various rates of pay in both branches of the service, as the basis of

the calculation, when the shares would be apportioned by the simple application of the rule of three. Commanders-in-chief look for other rewards; and under such circumstances, their country and their sovereign are seldom ungrateful.

The fleet, on its return to England, met with a serious disaster, when near the Land's End, by stress of weather; but Commodore Keppel, raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and left in command of a squadron, was more fortunate, having fallen in with, and captured off Cape François, a rich convoy, bound for Europe.

The peace having been concluded in 1763, the Conde de Ricla arrived at the Havana on the 30th of June, bringing the powers conferred by the treaty for the restoration of the British conquests in the island of Cuba, and accompanied by General O'Reilly, with four ships of the line, a number of transports, and 2000 men for the supply of the garrison. On their arrival they were received by the English with every demonstration of respect. On the 7th of July the keys of the city were formally delivered up to the Conde de Ricla, on whom the government had been conferred, and the English garrison was embarked on its return to Europe.

The restoration of the island to the Spaniards is regarded by the native writers as the true era from whence its aggrandisement and prosperity is to be dated. It was during the administration of the first governor that the new fortresses of San Carlos and Atares were erected, and the enlargement and rebuilding of the Morro and the Cabañas

were begun. The old hospitals were placed on a better footing, and new ones were built. The court of accounts, and the whole department of finance, received a fresh impulse and a distinct form; and an intendant was named, who, among other arrangements, for the first time established the Aduana, and created a custom-house revenue, the duties having been first levied on the 15th of October, 1764.

The Conde de O'Reilly, as inspector-general of the army, succeeded in organising and placing on a respectable footing the regular troops, as well as the militia of the island. The city of the Havana having been divided into districts, the streets named, and the houses numbered, the truth came to be known, that the capital contained materials for the formation of a battalion of disciplined white militia. Beginning with the formation of a single company, the Governor appointed lieutenants, sergeants, and corporals from the regular troops of the garrison, and, after a personal inspection, he followed the same course with the other companies. Adopting this principle in the other towns of the island, he soon succeeded in realising his ideas, and creating a considerable force on which the government had every reason to rely. When the two white battalions of the Havana and Guanabacao were completed, it was still found that, with the addition of the stationary regiment of regulars and the other troops of the garrison, there would not be a sufficient force for the defence of the capital, so that the idea of forming two other battalions pre-

sented itself, the one of blacks, the other of people of colour, and was immediately carried into effect.

Don Diego Manrique assumed the supreme command in 1765, but died within a few months after his arrival. He was succeeded in 1766 by Don Antonio Maria Bucarely, who prosecuted with energy the construction of the fortifications begun by the Conde de Ricla. Bucarely paid great attention to the due administration of justice, and was distinguished by the affability of his manners, the facility he afforded of access to his person, and the readiness with which he heard and redressed the grievances of the people; making it a boast that he had succeeded in adjusting differences and compromising lawsuits which had been pending for forty years. When afterwards appointed viceroy of New Spain, the minister for the department of the Indies announced to him, by command of the King, as an unexampled occurrence, that during the whole period of his administration not a single complaint against him had reached the court of Madrid. Another of his merits with the people was the gentleness and address with which he effected the expulsion of the Jesuits, who had come to the island with Don Pedro Augustin Morel, and had acquired there large possessions. The church attached to their seminary is that which is now the cathedral of the Havana.

On the promotion of Bucarely in 1771, the Marques de la Torre was named his successor, and became one of the most popular captains general who have ever administered the government. He

was replaced in 1777 by Don Diego José Navarro, who introduced great improvements in the administration of justice, and the police of the tribunals, and in regulating the duties and functions of the *abogados*, *escribanos*, *procuradores*, *tasadores*, and other officers and dependents of the courts of law, in which the greatest abuses had previously, and, I fear, have since prevailed. The base and deteriorated coin, which had been previously in circulation was also called in and abolished in the time of Navarro. In the course of the war which had again broken out between England and Spain, an expedition was prepared at the Havana for the recovery of the Floridas, which produced the surrender of Pensacola, and the submission of the garrison. This gave rise to a belief that the English would make reprisals on Cuba or Porto Rico, and led to the despatch of reinforcements on a large scale to the garrison of the Havana. The peace of 1783 soon followed, on which Lord Rodney prepared to return to England; and taking the Havana in his way, Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., having obtained leave from the Admiral to go on shore, was so delighted with the city and the entertainments that were offered him, that he remained there three days, and did not return, if we may believe the Spanish writers, until Lord Rodney sent to his Royal Highness to say, that if he did not re-embark immediately, the squadron would set sail, and leave him behind. The Spanish General of Marines, Solano, is said to have given the Prince a breakfast which cost him $4000.

During the years which immediately succeeded the peace there appear to have been other changes in the colonial government besides those already noticed, beginning with Don Luis Gonzaga, followed by the Conde de Galves, Don Bernardo Troncoso, Don José Espeleta, and Don Domingo Cabello. In the time of this first Espeleta there was again a great outcry as to the number of lawyers in the colony, and particularly at the Havana, where there were already no less than eighty-five abogados with an equally liberal proportion of the inferior classes of the profession. Steps were taken to prevent their increase, and a regulation was enforced on the 19th of November, 1784, prohibiting the admission of candidates and the immigration of professors of jurisprudence from the other colonies; and no lawyer who had studied his profession in Spain was to be allowed to practise it in the courts of the island until six years at least after he had been called to the bar in the peninsula.

Don Luis de las Casas arrived as Captain-General in 1790, and the period of his administration is represented by all Spanish writers as a brilliant epoch in the history of the island. To him it is indebted for the institution of the *Sociedad Patriotica*, which has ever since done so much to stimulate the activity, and promote the improvement of education, agriculture, and trade, as well as literature, science, and the fine arts, combined with large and liberal views of public policy. To Las Casas, also, is the island indebted for the establishment of the *Casa de Beneficencia*, of which I have elsewhere spoken,

having been begun by a voluntary subscription amounting to 36,000 dollars. The female department was at first a separate institution, situated in the extra-mural portion of the city, but was added to the other on the completion of the buildings in 1794. In place of a monument to Las Casas, which he undoubtedly deserved as much as any of his predecessors, an inscription has been conspicuously engraved in the common hall of the school for boys, declaring that on its erection it had been expressly dedicated to the memory of the founder of the institution; reminding the young pupils that he had not only been the founder of the Casa de Beneficencia, but of the first public library, and the first newspaper which had existed in the island, and of the patriotic and economical society.

To increase the commercial prosperity of the island he had the sagacity to perceive that his object could not be better accomplished than by removing as far as his authority extended all the trammels imposed upon it by the old system of privilege and restriction. During his administration, also, large sums were expended in the construction of roads, especially the great Calzada del Horcon and the Calzada de Guadaloupe; but since his time these highways have fallen so completely out of repair, as for the greater part of the year to have become next to impassable. It was Las Casas, also, who introduced the culture of indigo; and during his time the long arrear of causes on the rolls of the courts of justice was greatly reduced. The hurricane, which desolated the island

on the 21st and 22d of June, 1791, afforded Las Casas a fresh opportunity for displaying the great resources of his mind in the promptitude with which he brought relief to the sufferers. In some districts the sudden rise of water in the rivers was most extraordinary, when the limited extent of land from sea to sea is considered. On the bridge then just finished across the Rio del Calabazal the water rose to the height of thirty-six feet above the parapets; and in the town of San Antonio, where the wells are sunk, as I have elsewhere stated, into the bed of a subterraneous river, the water rushed up through the artificial openings, and inundated the whole country.

The French revolution having communicated its irresistible impulse to the western parts of St. Domingo, the cabinet of Madrid took the alarm, and from the Havana and Santiago, Vera Cruz, the Caracas, Maracaybo, and Porto Rico, collected a force amounting altogether to 6000 men, the object of which was to suppress the insurrection. The sanguinary struggle which ensued, and the reverses which befell the Spanish troops, belong to another place. Suffice it here to say, by way of memorandum, that the interest of the Spanish government in the island of St. Domingo was definitely terminated by the treaty of Basle, soon afterwards concluded with the French republic. It was to the energetic measures of Las Casas, at the time of this revolution in St. Domingo, that the island of Cuba was indebted for the uninterrupted maintenance of its tranquillity, in spite of the universal persuasion that a conspiracy had

been formed at the instigation of the French, among the free people of colour, to provoke a similar revolution in Cuba. On the occasion of his leaving the island in December, 1796, a formal eulogium on his merits as Captain-General was recorded in the archives of the Ayuntamiento of the Havana, in which are enumerated the great benefits he had conferred on the community; among which, the most prominent are the discouragement of gambling; the arrest of vagrants and vagabonds; the clearing of the gaols of greater criminals, and the acceleration of the ends of justice in civil causes; the abandonment of a large portion of his own emoluments for the erection and support of the *Casa de Beneficencia* and other charitable institutions; the reduction and pacification of the Maroons of Santiago; the suppression of the conspiracy among the people of colour; the prohibition of the introduction of foreign negroes who had previously resided in other colonies, and the expulsion of those who had arrived from St. Domingo; the relief of the inhabitants from the clothing of the militia; the paving of the streets of the Havana; the making and mending of roads; the building of bridges, and the construction of public walks and alamedas; the erection of a convent, a coliseum, a primary school, a school of chemistry, natural philosophy, mathematics and botany; the improvement of the Plaza de Toros, and the rejection of the profit which his predecessors had derived from the supply of provisions for the troops. In this farewell eulogium he is also praised

for the very questionable virtue of promoting the general prosperity, by the copious introduction of Bozal negroes from the coast of Africa, which is stated to have greatly extended the cultivation of the sugar-cane, the bread-fruit tree, the cinnamon-tree, and other exotic plants of inestimable value. It is more easy to sympathise in the praises bestowed upon him for the great hospitality he showed to the unfortunate refugees from St. Domingo, and for the exertions he made and the liberality he evinced in the institution of the Patriotic Society, the formation of a public library, the publication of the Diario, and of the *Guia de Forasteros*.

Las Casas, in 1796, was succeeded in the government by the Conde de Santa Clara, whose noble and generous disposition, and the affability of his manners, made the loss of his predecessor less sensibly felt. It is admitted, however, that he gave no encouragement to education, that he had no taste for letters, and that in his time the social emulation which had previously prevailed sunk rapidly into apathy and indifference.

It is a singular illustration of the dilatory habits of the people, and affords a sort of national characteristic, that for many years after the formal cession to the French of all interest in St. Domingo, the judges who exercised the supreme civil jurisdiction over the island of Cuba and other Spanish settlements continued to reside in the ceded territory, so that, in consequence of the recommencement of hostilities with England, all communication by sea was so interrupted as to interpose an insur-

mountable barrier to the exercise of the right of appeal, and to the ordinary administration of justice. The royal cedula, for the removal of this tribunal to Puerto Principe, is dated on the 22d of May, 1797; but it does not appear at what precise date the actual translation took place.

Santa Clara was succeeded, in 1799, by the Marques de Someruelos, whose administration continued for a much longer period than the five years to which, by the practice, if not by a formal regulation of the Spanish government, the term of service of the Captains-General of the colonies has been usually limited. The public works which serve to commemorate the administration of Someruelos are the old theatre and the public cemetery; the execution of which last was confided to the Bishop, who pursued the object with zeal, and the work was completed on the 2d of February, 1806. Its extent is not great, containing only 22,000 square yards; but the walls, the chapel, and the gateway, are on a scale which infers the outlay of a large sum of money. The chapel is ornamented with a painting in fresco representing the Resurrection, with the motto, "Ecce nunc in pulvere dormiam." Someruelos was thought by some to be stern and severe towards the poorer classes of society, and to reserve all his affability and condescension for the rich. On the occasion, however, of the great fire of 1802, which destroyed the populous suburb of Jesus Maria, leaving no less than 11,300 individuals without a roof to shelter them, the Marques, moved by

their distress, circumambulated the town, going actually from door to door to petition for their relief.

The belief again gained ground at the Havana, in 1807, that the English government contemplated a descent on the island; and measures were taken in consequence to put it in a more respectable state of defence, although, from want of funds in the treasury, and the scarcity of indispensable supplies, the prospect of an invasion was sufficiently gloomy. The militia and the troops of the garrison were carefully drilled, and companies of volunteers were formed wherever materials for them could be found. The French, also, not content with mere preparations, made an actual descent on the island, first threatening Santiago, and afterwards landing at Batabano. The invaders consisted chiefly of refugees from St. Domingo; and their intention seems to have been to have taken possession with a view to colonise and cultivate a portion of the unappropriated, or at least unoccupied, territory on the south side of the island, as their countrymen had formerly done in St. Domingo. Without recurring to actual force, the Captain-General prevailed on them to take their departure by a peaceful offer of the means of transit either to St. Domingo or to France.

The news of the abduction, by Napoleon, of the royal family of Spain reached the Havana by a private opportunity, at the moment when the Cabildo was in session, when every member of it took a solemn oath to preserve the island for its lawful

sovereign. The official intelligence did not reach the city till the 17th of July, 1808; when it was brought from Cadiz by the Intendant Don Juan de Aguilar y Amat, who arrived in the American ship Despatch. The Colonial government immediately declared war against Napoleon; and on the 20th, King Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed with general applause. The intelligence from Spain and the resolution of the Captain-General were immediately communicated to all the colonial authorities in Spanish America. The events in the Peninsula soon began to be felt at the Havana; but the demands of the French intruders for the recognition of their authority were disregarded, and the public despatches which came from them were destroyed. The Infanta Doña Carlota made similar pretensions, but these, like those of the French, were firmly resisted.

The foreign trade of the island was reduced to such an extremity by the events of the war, that the local authorities of the Havana, the Ayuntamiento, and the Consulado, began seriously to deliberate on the expediency of throwing the trade open, and admitting foreign supplies on the same terms with those from the Peninsula. There was some division of opinion; but the majority were for a free competition on an equal footing between the Spaniard and the foreigner, on the ground that Spain alone was unable to purchase or consume the enormous mass of produce then exported from the island; and so it was accordingly decided.

On the 21st and 22d of March, 1809, a serious

disturbance arose, the object of which was to invite the return of the French to the island; but this popular movement, although considered dangerous at the time, and viewed with alarm by the Captain-General, was speedily put down by the display of firmness and resolution on the part of all who had any thing to lose, and by the prompt offer of their personal services for its suppression. Proclamations were issued, a respectable force was collected, and the Marques de Someruelos presented himself in person to endeavour to pacify the discontented. Tranquillity was restored at the end of the second day, with the loss of only two or three lives; but not without the destruction of a great deal of property. The French settlers in the rural districts were, in this respect, the greatest sufferers; and it had, in consequence, the effect of driving away several thousands of laborious and intelligent colonists, who were already deeply interested in the prosperity of the island.

Soon after these events a young man arrived from the United States, of whose proceedings and character, as an emissary of King Joseph, the colonial government had been previously informed. This unfortunate person, Don Manuel Aleman, was not even suffered to land. The Alguazils went on board; took possession of his papers and his person; a council of war was immediately assembled: but his fate was determined before hand; and on the following morning, the 13th of July, 1810, he was brought out to the Campo de la Punta, and hanged for his temerity.

The revolutionary proceedings in the continental provinces of Spain were now in full career towards that independence of the mother-country which they have since achieved. In the mean time, the island of Cuba enjoyed a degree of tranquillity quite remarkable under the circumstances of the sister colonies. This state of things was naturally, and not unjustly, ascribed to the political prudence and sagacity of the Marques de Someruelos. The colonial authorities petitioned the cabinet of Madrid for the farther prorogation of his government beyond the term to which it had been already extended. But the very fact of his having given so much satisfaction to the colonists, if we may judge from experience elsewhere, was not likely to operate with the government of the mother-country in deciding on a farther extension of his stay. Instead of acceding to the prayer of the municipal functionaries of the Havana, the government of Madrid thought fit to mark its sense of the interference by instantly recalling the title of "Excellencia," which, on a former occasion, had been granted to the Ayuntamiento as a special mark of the royal favour, and of which they were not a little proud.

A negro conspiracy broke out in 1812, which excited considerable alarm in the minds of the landed proprietors. That alarm was attended with its usual consequences: the negro leader Aponte and his associates were treated with unsparing severity, such as may be supposed to have been dictated much more by the fears of the *Hacendados*, than by the strict justice of the case.

The western districts of the island were visited, in 1810, by another of those tremendous hurricanes, which sweep away so much life and property in these tropical regions. The city of the Havana was filled with consternation and dismay; the hopes of an abundant harvest were disappointed; in the harbour, so renowned for its security, the ships of war were driven from their anchors; and no less than sixty merchant vessels were destroyed.

In the time of Someruelos the Casa de Beneficencia was in danger of falling into decay; but in consequence of his earnest intervention, the Junta de Tabacos, which in Spain as in France is a royal monopoly, consented to purchase 100 slaves, whose labour or whose wages were to furnish funds for the benefit of the institution; thus by an extraordinary perversion making the practice of cruelty and injustice towards one portion of the human family contribute to a work of charity in favour of another. The slaves were at first employed in the manufacture of cigars, but have latterly been hired out for daily wages at whatever employment they could obtain.

The successor of Someruelos was Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, afterwards Conde de Benadito, who arrived on the 14th of April, 1812; and he, for the first time, combined the command of the naval force on the station with the office of Captain-General of the island. This unprecedented combination arose from the fear of the authors of the constitution of Cadiz, that their work and their

representative would not be well received in this aristocratical colony. His first duty on his arrival was to proclaim the constitution; and although it doubtless excited an extraordinary sensation, it was not openly resisted.

The success of Apodaca in Cuba led to his promotion to the rank of Viceroy of Mexico; and on the 1st of July, 1816, he was succeeded at the Havana by Lieutenant-General Don José Cienfuegos. In his time the third census of the island was accomplished; some of the details of which, as compared with those of 1827, will elsewhere be found in these pages. This Captain-General made himself exceedingly unpopular at the Havana by the severe measures of police he proclaimed and enforced for the suppression of projects of sedition, and for the preservation of the public tranquillity. He resorted to an expedient which in other great cities would scarcely have become the subject of serious complaint — he caused the streets of the Havana to be lighted; but this was only a part of the proceeding to which the citizens objected. He insisted, also, on closing up the public thoroughfares immediately after the conclusion of the evening service in the churches; thus from that early hour confining the inhabitants to their own particular quarter of the city, and giving rise to clamorous representations and to the very disturbances which it was the object of the Captain-General to prevent.

Señor Cienfuegos was for some time disabled by personal infirmity from the active administration

of the government, and during that period his functions were performed by Don Juan Maria Echeverri, as Cabo Subalterno; but on the 29th of August, 1819, he was finally relieved by the arrival of his successor, Don Juan Manuel Cagigal, in the Spanish ship of war Sabina, with a convoy of troops for the supply of the garrison.

The following year, 1820, from the events which took place in the Peninsula, was another period of trial and difficulty for a Captain-General of the Havana; but it is admitted by all parties that Cagigal succeeded, by the prudence and delicacy of his conduct, in avoiding the evils which might have been expected to arise from the difficult and extraordinary circumstances in which he found himself placed. The extreme affability of his manners, and the perfect readiness with which he received and listened to all who desired to approach him, conciliated universal good will; and it appears that the high estimation in which he was held by the inhabitants excited in his breast a corresponding feeling, as, on the termination of his command, he applied for and obtained the special grace from the King of being permitted to take up his permanent abode in the island; and having retired to the town of Guanabacao, he died there some time afterwards a simple but respected citizen.

The next Captain-General was Don Nicolas Mahy, who arrived from Bordeaux in the French frigate Therèse on the 3d of March, 1821; but such was the turbulence which prevailed in these troublesome times that he proved unequal to the

task of controlling the storm, and at length sunk under the difficulties which surrounded him. He died on the 18th of July, 1822, but retained to the last moment of his life the direct administration of the affairs of the government.

After his death the government was assumed provisionally by the *Cabo Subalterno*, Don Sebastian Kindelan; and on the 2d of May, 1823, the new Captain-General arrived, Don Francisco Dionisio Vives, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of Conde de Cuba. It was in his time that the fourth and last census of the island was accomplished, the interesting results of which I have given at considerable length. It was under Vives, also, that the rural militia was organised, and that the construction of the fortresses of Bahia-honda, Mariel, Jaruco, and the Cabañas was begun or completed. It was he who divided the island into three military departments; and it was under his auspices that the temple was erected on the Plaza de Armas of the Havana, on the very spot, where, if tradition is to be believed, the first Christian rite was performed in the New World. It is doubtless with the view of adding to the solemnity of the occasion that the temple is opened only once a year, on the anniversary of the day that mass was first said there, in the presence of Columbus, to return thanks to Heaven for the success which had attended his enterprise. It was also in the time of Vives that the two lunatic asylums, *el Departamento de Dementes*, were added to the *Casa de Beneficencia;* and it is recorded of him that he

never failed to preside at the meetings of the institution, and to animate by his presence the drooping zeal of his colleagues in the direction.

On the 15th of May, 1832, Don Mariana Ricafort took possession of the government; and on the 1st of June, 1834, he was succeeded by Don Miguel Tacon, whose administration terminated on the 16th of April, 1838, when Don Joaquin de Espeleta, who had for some time resided at the Havana with the rank of Sub-inspector-General of the troops, and second *Cabo Subalterno*, was promoted to the rank of Captain-General, not provisionally, as had been usual on former occasions, but *como proprietario*, to use a form of expression in constant use, as applied to public offices in the language of Castille as well as in that of France. With regard to these more recent periods in the history of the island, it is of course impossible to expect any thing like impartiality on the part of the publicists of the Havana, who are forbidden to censure, and whose praise is consequently worthless.

CHAP. XXV.

PORTO RICO. — CRAB ISLAND. — FRENCH SLAVES SENT TO PORTO RICO. — TRADE OF MARTINIQUE WITH PORTO RICO. — THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. — KIDNAPPING FROM ENGLISH ISLANDS. — COMPENSATION FOR STOLEN NEGROES. — SYSTEM OF KIDNAPPING. — NEGOTIATION WITH LOPEZ BAÑOS. — NEED OF A CONSUL AT PORTO RICO. — PENALTIES ON KIDNAPPING. — SPANISH MAROONS. — THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE two Spanish islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, although situated in the same sea, and forming part of the same archipelago, are very little known to each other. This remark might be applied indeed to the West India islands in general, since the only interruption to the system of non-intercourse is the periodical and momentary visit of the British post-office packets. Producing and exporting the same or similar commodities, there is no room for the application of commercial enterprise, and although the scenery of these islands is not to be surpassed by any region on the face of the globe for beauty and magnificence, they have been but rarely visited by the idle tourist or the scientific traveller, who range the four corners of the earth in quest of pleasure or information.

Since the appearance of the work of my gallant friend General Flinter, who has fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of foreigners inherent in the Spanish character, the world has heard but little of the in-

ternal affairs of Porto Rico. The state of society in that island is nevertheless of a nature to challenge inquiry, from the extraordinary disproportion as compared with the rest of the West Indies, between the coloured and the white population, and still more between the slaves and the free.

According to official returns which I have had the good fortune to obtain for the year 1835, I find that the white population is stated in that year at 180,783; the free coloured population at 104,044; the slaves at 34,336; and the whole, therefore, at 319,161.* Before the emancipation of the coloured race in Jamaica, the proportion between the white inhabitants and the rest of the population was nearly the reverse of that of Porto Rico, the sum total in each island being pretty nearly the same; that is to say, the slaves in Porto Rico form little more than a tenth part of the population; while this was, and, indeed, still is, the case with the white inhabitants of Jamaica as compared with the other classes.

In dissecting the statistical tables for Porto Rico,

* The progressive increase of the population since the commencement of the present century is shown in the following table, extracted from the valuable papers lately published under the eye of Mr. Porter, of the Board of Trade.

	1802.	1812.	1820.	1827.	1830.	1836.
Whites	78,281	85,662	102,432	150,311	162,311	188,869
Free Mulattos	55,164	63,983	86,269	95,430	100,430	101,275
Free Blacks	16,414	15,833	20,191	25,057	26,857	25,124
Slaves	13,333	17,536	21,730	31,874	34,240	41,818
Total	163,192	183,014	230,622	302,672	323,838	357,086

I find a fact which forcibly arrested my attention from the contrast it presented with what had passed under my observation in the island of Cuba. I have elsewhere stated the extreme disproportion which exists between the sexes among the servile class in Cuba, and have traced the fact to the selfish and sordid views of the planters; who, flattering themselves that the slave-trade is to be perpetual, and finding that more labour can be extorted from the thews and sinews of the one sex than the other, have offered to the slave-trader the necessary premium to encourage this unnatural disproportion.*

* The following table, for which I am indebted to the papers of the Patriotic Society of the Havana, will exhibit this disproportion in a more striking point of view. The whites, or blancos, are either proprietors of the soil or tradesmen, or the paid dependants of either, with their families. The *agregados* are also considered of pure European descent, holding the station of cottiers on the plantations, and contributing a certain portion of labour in place of rent. The *pardos* are free people of the mixed race, not strictly white, and not darker in complexion than the mulatto. The slaves are of all complexions except white.

Blancos -	Adult males	22,532	
	—— females	23,633	
	Boys - -	46,744	
	Girls - -	47,087	
			139,996
Agregados	Adult males	6,674	
	—— females	7,462	
	Boys - -	13,089	
	Girls - -	13,560	
			40,785
Pardos -	Adult males	13,196	
	—— females	14,495	
	Boys - -	28,533	
	Girls - -	29,331	
			85,555

The price of labour in Porto Rico had long been so low, as not to afford a sufficient remuneration for the risks and perils of the slave-trade, although a cargo of Africans could probably have been landed there as safely as in Cuba; but it appears that the planters could not afford to pay $300 a head, a price which, we have seen, has long been readily obtained at the Havana. Thus nature was allowed in Porto Rico to pursue her peaceful and unerring course; and the consequence was, that until of late years the female slaves bore the same, or nearly the same, proportion to the males as was to be found between the sexes among the other classes of the population.

By some means or other, however, fresh capital has of late been attracted to Porto Rico; and if a fair census could be obtained, there is very little doubt, from the number of sugar estates lately formed, that the result would show a very large cession to the African population. As the matter stands, the census before me professes to classify the whole population according to the country

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Morenos	Adult males	3,137	
	—— females	3,707	
	Boys - -	5,623	
	Girls - -	6.022	
			18,489
Esclavos	Adult males	4,119	
	—— females	5,868	
	Boys - -	13,539	
	Girls - -	10,810	
			34,336
		Total	319,161

of their birth; and according to this classification it is admitted that 15,728, or nearly one half of the slaves, are natives of Africa. The rest of the population is given as follows:—Spaniards, Creole and peninsular, 300,600; French, 1474; English and North American, 327; Danish, 212; German, 62; Dutch, 485, and Italian, 273.

The classification according to age affords evidence not a little interesting of the salubrity of the climate and its suitableness for the descendants of Europeans, even when exposed, as they undoubtedly are, to the labour of cultivating the soil. The number of persons under ten years of age is stated at 118,612; from ten to twenty, at 67,092; from twenty to thirty, at 58,024; from thirty to forty, at 31,851; from forty to fifty, at 18,942; from fifty to sixty, at 12,966; from sixty to seventy, at 6790; from seventy to eighty, at 3118; from eighty to ninety, at 1377; from ninety to a hundred, at 324, and from one hundred to one hundred and ten, at 61.

The classification according to employment and profession is given as follows: — Labourers, 143,311; carpenters, 909; masons, 282; smiths, 124; coopers, 151; shoemakers, 680; tailors, 200; shopkeepers, 939; merchants, 880; other dealers, 544; professions not distinguished, 15,579, and the rest of the population from age, sex, and other causes, having no profession, 155,562.

The number of houses in the towns, as well as in the country, is stated at 14,435; of huts or cottages not dignified with the name of dwelling-house, 20,696; of sugar estates, 1555; of coffee estates,

124; of distilleries, 322; of limekilns, 38; and of brickkilns, 75.

The produce of the island is stated as follows:— Sugar, 369,539 quintals; molasses, 671,009 arrobas; rum, 388,006 cuartillos; coffee, 121,151 quintals; tobacco, 31,694 quintals; cotton, 6033 quintals; pepper, 561 quintals; rice, 52,158 quintals; Indian corn, 37,467 fanegas; plantains, 4,778,898 horse loads; yams, 5125 quintals; sweet potatoes, 92,039 quintals; beans, 3191 quintals; cassava, 20,099 horse loads; lime, 5242 loads; bricks, 3377 thousands; cocoas, 36,366 hundreds, and oranges, 43,611 hundreds.

Of cows there are stated to be 32,853; bulls and oxen, 16,938; calves, 6709; sheep, 3637; goats, 3987; pigs, 14,076; horses, 15,116; mares, 16,875; asses, 215; mules, 794; poultry, 147,100.

The territorial wealth, or value of the real property in the island, without including that of the houses and other buildings in the capital, is estimated at $33,558,646, and the value of the annual produce, at $5,567,436.

The most remarkable fact connected with the history and the present state of Porto Rico is that the fields are cultivated, and sugar manufactured, by the hands of white men under a tropical sun. It is very possible that this might never have occurred had not the island been treated as a penal settlement at an early period of its history. The convicts themselves were condemned to hard labour as a part of their punishment; and when the term of their sentence arrived, they were compelled to continue it in order to obtain the means of subsistence.

Unfortunately we have no correct statistical returns of the progress of mortality among the convicts on their arrival. It can scarcely be doubted that it must have been considerable. While restored to freedom, however, they were probably in general sufficiently seasoned to the climate to be able to earn their livelihood without exposing themselves to further danger; and their descendants present at this day a permanent solution of the problem, that white labour can be profitably applied to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture of its products, in one of the warmest regions of the West Indies.

The large population of Barbadoes, the practice which formerly obtained there of inducing white settlers of an humble class to emigrate by the offer of small grants of land, and the law which compelled the planter to maintain on his estate a fixed proportion of white persons compared with the number of his slaves, have had the effect of reducing a considerable number of white persons in that island to the rank of hired labourers; and there, also, I have seen them engaged in digging cane holes, which, I believe, is considered the severest labour to which the negro is exposed. It is nevertheless true, that for a white man to labour in the field is regarded in Barbadoes as a serious degradation. This, however, is by no means the case in Porto Rico; where inveterate usage has reconciled the white labourer to the necessity of working, without a murmur, in the same field with his coloured brethren, of every variety of complexion, and even with slaves.

In the Atlas, which serves to illustrate the history of the British West Indies, by the late Mr. Bryan Edwards, an island is represented as one of the Virgin group, called Bieques by General Flinter, by other writers, Boriqueen, but which is more generally known by the name of Crab Island. Its eastern extremity forms nearly an equilateral triangle with the western ends of the Danish islands of Santa Cruz and St. Thomas; but towards the west it is separated by a narrow channel from Porto Rico, being situated in about 64° west longitude, and 18° north latitude. It is about ten leagues long, and two broad, considerably larger than St. Thomas, and not much less than Santa Cruz, or Tortola, the largest of the Danish and British possessions in the Virgin group.

This island has no permanent population, but it is resorted to by vessels of all nations, for obtaining supplies of wood and water. In former times it was considered a nest of pirates; and to this day it is well known that the slavers make use of it for the purpose of transhipping their supplies in sailing for Africa, in disposing of their cargoes on their return, and in eluding the cruizers that may have been watching for them near the harbour of St. Thomas, which has long been notorious for the facility it affords to the African traders of every flag, in providing on the shortest notice the necessary outfit.

The sovereignty of this island is disputed by the governments of Spain, Denmark, and Great Britain; but in a choice of evils it would evidently be better

to recognise it as the property of Denmark, which still practises slavery, or of Spain, which countenances the slave-trade, than that it should remain in its present condition—a shelter to the scoundrels of every nation, who make their living by slave-trading, piracy, and all sorts of enormities.

This small island is represented by General Flinter to be so exceedingly fertile as to be fit for the maintenance of some 300,000 inhabitants, when placed under a proper system of cultivation. My attention was drawn to it from having heard it much spoken of by several French planters in the course of my previous visits to Martinique and Guadaloupe. Before reaching Martinique I had the misfortune, by one of those accidents which not unfrequently occur in the West Indies, to be driven to leeward, in an attempt to pass from St. Vincent to St. Lucia; and finding myself at sea for at least as many days as I expected to be hours on the passage, I was compelled, under no small apprehension of starvation, to go on board the first vessel that presented itself, which happened to be the William Stow, bound from Martinique to Trinidad. On board this vessel I found a considerable number of negroes, who, hearing that slavery had ceased in the British islands, had made their escape from Martinique to St. Lucia, where the William Stow had called for them, under instructions from some planters in Trinidad; wages being higher there, and labour more in demand, than at St. Lucia.

Several thousands of the slaves of Martinique

had previously been driven by the severity of their treatment, or incited by their innate love of liberty, to embark in canoes, or on rafts formed for the purpose, in the hope of reaching St. Lucia or Dominica, where they had been informed that their natural rights as men would be respected. It is probable that not more than the half of the unfortunate beings who thus encountered the perils of the sea ever reached their destination; and it is quite certain that a large proportion of them have perished in the attempt. How much more justly were those poor negroes entitled to the reputation of undaunted courage than the mere mariners of old!

> " Illi robur et æs triplex
> Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
> Commisit pelago ratem
> Primus."

The heavy losses to which the planters of Guadaloupe and Martinique were exposed had been seriously aggravated by the success which has attended the manufacture of sugar in France from the beetroot; propped up for a time by the factitious aid of discriminating duties; and as there was very little prospect of any bill for the emancipation of their negroes being accompanied by a vote of the French Chambers of a sum of money as an indemnity, it turned out that several of them had resorted to the extraordinary expedient of seeking for individual compensation by carrying their slaves to Porto Rico, and offering them there to the highest bidder.

The mate on board the William Stow, who belonged to Martinique, informed me that he had

formerly been an ordinary seaman on board a regular trader between that island and Porto Rico. He stated that it was not unusual for slaves to be sent from Martinique to Porto Rico for sale; and that on one occasion the captain had been so imprudent as to expose them for this purpose in the public market-place of St. John's. The matter having been brought in consequence under the notice of the Captain-General, his Excellency thought the case too scandalous to suffer it to pass without censure. The affair was accordingly inquired into; and when its nature was ascertained, the captain of the Martinique trader was ordered to leave the island and carry his black cargo away with him. They returned, therefore, to St. Pierre, and the negroes were restored to their place in the public gaol, from whence the captain had originally received them. On my arrival at Martinique, I was at some pains to investigate the matter. I was allowed to visit every public establishment but the gaol. The acting Governor, Colonel Rostoland, was good enough to accompany me on several of these occasions; and did me the honour to carry me to some of the best-managed estates in the neighbourhood; but no interest or entreaty was influential enough to procure me the most cursory inspection of this abode of misery. I was assured, however, by some of the most respectable inhabitants, who had no interest and no desire to conceal the truth, that the information I had accidentally obtained on board the William Stow was perfectly correct. When a planter thought it desirable for any

private reason of his own to get rid of a portion of his people, he had only to send them to the gaol of St. Pierre, with the statement that they were so many *mauvais sujets*. For this purpose no judicial authority was asked or thought necessary; and by the first opportunity they were shipped for Porto Rico, as being the nearest market where a reasonable price could be obtained. The shipments referred to by the mate of the William Stow were all made at midnight. The people were brought on board in the custody of *gens d'armes;* and although contrary to the regulations of the port, most rigorously enforced against legitimate traders, the vessel was in such cases allowed to put to sea before daybreak.

It is highly creditable to the humanity of the Danish planters in the Virgin Islands, and especially to those of St. John's, where the facilities for escape are so great, that their losses have hitherto been so very inconsiderable. From several points of St. John's to the English island of Tortola, the distance is scarcely a mile. Many negroes could swim across; and, with the aid of a few bamboos, could carry their families along with them, to a place where freedom and a fair remuneration for their labour would wait their acceptance. From Martinique and Guadaloupe to the nearest points of St. Lucia, Dominica, and Antigua, the distance is from fifteen to twenty miles, and yet the slaves on the French islands have encountered the risk by thousands. Than this, there can be no better measure of the relative humanity, or perhaps I

should rather say, the comparative amount of cruelty habitually practised on this unfortunate class of persons in the French and Danish islands respectively.

In the course of my tour through the Windward and Leeward Islands, I had frequently heard, but especially at Barbadoes and Antigua, from Sir Evan M'Gregor and Sir William Colebrooke, of the practice of kidnapping, which had grown to such an alarming height in these islands that their population was in danger of being seriously affected by it. Since the termination of the apprenticeship, the disappearance of a number of negroes has not been so scrupulously inquired into; because no individual proprietor has any longer a direct pecuniary interest in the services of an individual labourer; and the practice which has for some time prevailed in Demerara and Trinidad, of sending emissaries to those islands, where rates of wages are comparatively low, for the purpose of engaging the services of such as are willing to emigrate, may often have suggested to the neighbourhood such an explanation of the disappearance of the poor negroes who have thus been kidnapped, as to lull all suspicion on the subject. Some, it is said, have been carried off by open violence; while others have been inveigled on board the vessels of the kidnappers, under pretence of carrying them to Trinidad or Demerara; with the promise of houses and gardens, and wages at the rate of a dollar a day, while their true destination has been Porto Rico, " chains and slavery."

It is believed that the Leeward Islands under the government of Sir William Colebrooke have been the most extensive sufferers under this infamous variety of the slave-trade; and accordingly we find that active and energetic Governor-General unsparing in his exertions to restore the victims to freedom, and in adopting such measures as are best calculated to make this disgraceful traffic unprofitable to the parties engaged in it, by insisting on the immediate restoration of the captives.

At first it was thought expedient to offer compensation in money to those persons in Porto Rico who, without being accessory to the fact of abduction, had become, so to speak, and as far as that was possible, the *bonâ fide* proprietors of our negro fellow-subjects; care being taken that the indemnity should in no case exceed the price which could be proved to have been paid to the actual possessor. It soon became apparent, however, that a system so liberal would have no tendency to make the practice of kidnapping unprofitable. The Spanish planters in Porto Rico would be secured against loss, and would thus have no interest in scrutinising the character of the slave-merchant, so as to ascertain whether he might not be a dealer in stolen goods. It was necessary to fix on some line of distinction, if compensation was to be awarded in any case; but inasmuch as the property in a stolen article does not pass by the law of Spain to the *bonâ fide* acquirer, it is not very clear on what ground an indemnity was to be offered to the possessor of a kidnapped negro. For the sake of

maintaining a friendly understanding with the Spanish authorities in Porto Rico, and doubtless, also, with the humane object of facilitating the liberation of a number of individuals thus feloniously deprived of their freedom, Sir William Colebrooke did not hesitate to take on himself the responsibility of remunerating the *bonâ fide* possessors of all such British negroes as had been brought to the island of Porto Rico before the 1st of August, 1834, when the British act of parliament for the abolition of negro slavery came first into operation.

Attention was first drawn to this subject by the fact that fourteen British negroes had been removed in the year 1836 from the island of Anguilla, from thence carried to Porto Rico, and there sold into slavery. This fact having reached the foreign office, Lord Palmerston transmitted the necessary instructions to the British minister in Madrid, and Lord Clarendon lost no time in pressing for a royal order on the Captain-General at Porto Rico, directing him to proceed without delay to the emancipation of the fourteen negroes in question. On being informed by Lord Glenelg that this royal order had been issued, Sir William Colebrooke addressed himself, in the first instance, to the late Sir Charles Paget, requesting the Admiral's assistance in effecting the liberation of the captives. Assistance having been obtained, after some delay, and in consequence of orders from Captain Leith, the senior naval officer in command at Barbadoes, the duty was entrusted to Commander Hope of her

Majesty's ship Racer, of proceeding to St. John's, the capital of Porto Rico, and making a formal application for the delivery of the fourteen Anguilla negroes on payment of a reasonable compensation. This interesting service was performed by that officer with so much tact and discretion as to lead to the discovery of the fact that no less than 400 or 500 British subjects were then held in captivity in Porto Rico, independent of a considerable number who had succeeded in making their escape to St. Domingo, the United States, and other places.

This negotiation was entered upon soon after Don Miguel Lopez Baños had arrived at Porto Rico, with the rank of Captain-General, and had assumed the administration of the government; and it must be admitted that that honourable functionary discovered no inclination to render inefficient or inoperative the royal order which had been transmitted to him from Madrid. Soon after the first visit of the Racer, his Excellency caused a proclamation to be published in the Colonial Gazette, requiring all English negroes to be delivered up to the Spanish authorities, promising payment for them according to their respective bills of sale, and declaring that the owners of those not voluntarily surrendered should not only forfeit all claim to payment, but should incur a penalty equivalent in amount to the price they had paid for their slaves.

The time specified in the proclamation was suffered to elapse without producing any consi-

derable result. On the second visit of the Racer in the beginning of April, 1838, about a month after the first, only six slaves had arrived at the capital to be delivered up by the Captain-General; and with regard to four of them, the bills of sale had not been furnished by their owners; so that his Excellency thought it better to delay their surrender until the amount of compensation could be ascertained. As to the other two, Oliver Bradford and Phœbe Bradford, belonging to two different owners, the price demanded for the one was $175, and for the other only $50; showing that the dealer who kidnaps at Anguilla or Antigua can afford to sell on much more reasonable terms than he who steals, or receives stolen negroes, on the coast of Africa.

During the stay of the Racer at St. John's, Commander Hope saw reason to believe that, if consistently with his duty he could have remained there a sufficient time to have admitted of the object of her visit becoming known among the negroes, a considerable number of them would have left their plantations and sought refuge on board. One man, Jack Norris by name, found his way to the ship, and claimed the protection of her Majesty's flag on the ground that he was a British subject and a native of Antigua. Commander Hope made the fact known to the Captain-General, and stated at the same time that he would be under the necessity of carrying the man with him, and delivering him up to Sir William Colebrooke. Against this proposal his Excellency

strongly protested, insisting that poor Jack should be landed and placed with the other four, under the Governor's protection. Adhering to his resolution, the Commander declared that Jack should not leave the ship unless he desired it himself; on which his Excellency requested that the man might be sent to government-house, under a pledge that he would be sent back to the Racer if he did not himself desire to remain. The result was just what might have been expected. Jack Norris was allowed to see the Governor, but firmly resisted every entreaty to remain; and having got back to the ship, was restored in a few days to his native home and the enjoyment of his freedom.

In the report of his mission to Sir William Colebrooke, Commander Hope does full credit to the good faith and sincerity of Don Miguel Lopez Baños, throughout the transaction; but however anxious his Excellency might be for the faithful execution of the orders of his government, the Commander was persuaded that the Governor's authority would prove wholly inadequate to secure a satisfactory result. In consequence, he strongly recommends the appointment of a commissioner or consular agent, whose duty it should be to reside constantly on the island, and receive under his care such English negroes as might come to claim his protection. The Commander was assured that the news of the arrival of such a functionary would speedily circulate throughout the plantations, to the remotest districts of the island; and that the negroes would succeed in reaching him, whatever

obstacles their owners might throw in their way. This suggestion was promptly adopted by the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and Lord William Hervey, then *chargé d'affaires* at Madrid, having made the necessary application to the Conde de Ofalia, at that time at the head of the government, that minister in answer expressed his perfect readiness to promote the restoration of British negroes, irregularly introduced into either of the two islands, by every means in his power.

I have not heard that any consul to Porto Rico has yet been appointed; but as long as Don Miguel Lopez Baños remains there as Captain-General it is probable that no impediment will be thrown in the way of the accomplishment of the primary object of the mission; even if it should be thought necessary to circumambulate the island, visit the various plantations, and require the utmost publicity to be given to the object of the consul's visit. The Conde de Ofalia, in his answer to Lord William Hervey, has stated most correctly that the laws of Spain are exceedingly severe against the kidnapping of free men; but his Excellency might have discovered, by a very cursory comparison of the law and the fact, as regards the practice of slave-trading, that penal enactments are of very little value, for the prevention of crime, unless they are faithfully and promptly administered.

In the Colonial Government Gazette, published daily at the Havana, I find a notice of the capture of a number of vagrant negroes called Camarrones or Maroons, containing a description of their per-

sons, and an intimation that the owners may receive them on applying to the proper authorities. In addition to such marks as might lead to their recognition, the place of birth of these Maroons has in general been added; and I find, on a careful dissection of the list, that five of them are set down as English; but whether this may mean that they are natives of the British islands, or merely that they are liberated Africans, restored to that sort of freedom, far more cruel than ordinary slavery, which was formerly vouchsafed to the unfortunate creatures found by the British cruisers in the slavers they had captured, and placed according to the old practice at the disposal of the Captain-General, I have not the means of ascertaining. Of the whole number of Maroons thus captured by the colonial authorities, it appears that 51 were of the Ganga tribe, 43 were Congoes, 41 Carabalis, 15 Lucumis, 9 Minas, 6 Macuas, 1 Molombo, 1 Mosambique, and 1 Arara. There were also 25 creoles, 22 of them negroes, and 3 *pardos Criollos*, or coloured slaves born in the island; besides the five "*Ingles*" already referred to. It is no doubt possible that the negro inhabitants of Jamaica may be entrapped and carried off to Cuba for sale, in the same manner with those of the Windward Islands; but this would infer a greater degree of violence than is necessary in our other West India possessions, inasmuch as the negroes of Jamaica have not yet been accustomed to the visits of the agents from Trinidad and Demerara, nor to the consideration of the advantage of emigrating for the sake of higher wages.

In treating of the present state of the Spanish West Indies, I have felt myself called upon to speak at some length of the practice of slavery and the slave-trade. Convinced that the best of causes can only be injured by exaggeration, I have rigorously adhered to the evidence which presented itself in the course of my researches, and have applied my best judgment to its consideration. The subject is so deeply interesting, that other writers, I trust, will take it up, and so keep the public mind alive to its importance. To those who may take the trouble to consider the measures of repression suggested in these pages, I now venture to appeal: —

—— "Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum."

THE END.

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